

CA

TRAGICALL

Historie of the troubles and

Ciuile warres of the lowe

Countries, other-

wise called

Flanders.

12-4-58

Wherein, is sett forth the originall and full proceeding of
the saied troubles and Ciuile warres, with all the stratagemes,
sieges, forceble takynge, and manlike defenses, of diuers
and sondrie Cities, Townes, and Fortresses of the
same, together, the Barbarous crueltie and ty-
rannie of the Spaniard, and trecherous
Hispaniolized Wallons, & others
of the saied lowe Countreys.

And there withall, the Estate and cause of Religion, especi-
ally, from the yere 1559. into the yere 1581.

Besides many Letters, Commissions, Contractes of
Peace, Unions, Articles and Agreementes, pu-
blished and Proclaimed in the saied Pro-
uinces. Translated out of French
into English, by T.S. gēt.




I Imprinted at London by Jhon Kyngston
for Tobie Smith, dwelling in Paules Church-
yarde, at the signe of the Crane.



1637:97

301:75

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TO THE RIGHT HO-
norable, the Lorde Robert Dudley,
Erle of Leicester, Baron of Denbigh, Knight of
the moste noble Order of either Garter, and of
saint Michaels, Maister of her Maiesties Houses, and
one of her Highnesse moste honourable Privie
Counsell, encrease of all honour, healtie
and wealtie in this life, and in the
worlde to come, the blessed
Estate of life ever-
lastyng.



*A*fter I had finished the Trāslation
of this Tragicall Historie (Right
honorable) conteinyng the verie
originall of the warres, in the now
miserable lowe Countries, whiche
before those troubles, were taken, as it were, to bee
the Paragone, or rather, yearthly Paradise, of all
the Countries in Europe, whiche warres and trou-
bles, as myne Auctour hath sett doune, beganne in
the yere 1559. and hath continued his Storie un-
to the yere 1581: In whiche I finde, how, the
moste righteous God, in his moste iuste Iudgement
hath, with his roddes of corrections, I meane the
Spaniardes, and certaine other Hispaniolized low
Countrey men, fatherly chastized that people. for
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their greate disobedience, and woonderfull un-
thankfulnesse, especially for the contempte of the
glorious Gospell, of his deare beloued Sonne, our
onely Sauour and Redeemer Christe Iesus, so fre-
ly offered vnto them, besides all the reste of his no-
table benefites: whiche rodde and scourges, when
he hath in his great wisdom, teawed vpon them,
for their amendement, he will surely, like a tender
and louyng Father, caste into the fire. VVhiche his
fatherlike dealyng, should moue vs of the Englishe
nation throughly consider of. For, in my simple opi-
nion (sauyng the iudgement of farre grauer, wiser,
and learned then my self) our staffe stādeth next
the dore: For, where can wee read either in the olde
Testament, or yet in any other prophane Historie,
that euer GOD, dealte more bountifullly, with any
Nation then with vs, either for thynges needefull
and necessarie, or delightfull and pleasaunt for this
life. So that it maie vetie well be saied of vs, that
we enioye a lande, flowyng with Milke and Honie.
But especially, for the plentifull bestowyng of his
moste holie and blessed worde emongest vs: whiche
chief and principall benefite, is in suche sort by the
greater number of vs so contemned, as that it must
needes cause hym, one daie, make vs feeble his bea-

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we had, as these low Countries, haue already felt,
without we speedely returne vnto him, in true and
vnsained repentaunce: for we must not thinke that
if we fault in the like sinnes, but to reape the like
Iudgement, because he is one and the self same God
in punishyng from euerlastyng. Now, because (sir)
this historie declareth vnto vs, that the beginnyng
of these troubles, came by reason of the refusyng of
the Spanishe Inquisition, and of the defence of the
state of Religion, whiche wee at this daie professe:
And whiche, (the Lorde be thanked for it) euer si-
thence the first blessed entraunce of her Maiesties most
Godly and gracious gouernment, ouer this noble
Realme of Englad, hath, by the good aduise of your
lordship, & the rest of her highnesse most honora-
ble priuie Counsell, been by her excellencie main-
tained and defended: If therefore, bothe because of
your holie faithe, knowledge, zeale, and obedience,
in the truth of the same Religion, (which, the Lord
more and more, encrease, strengthen and continue
in you) as also by reason of the aidyng of all those
godly Ministers, whom Sathan, with his Impes
and Suppostes, haue sought and daiely seeke, by all
meanes possible to deface, as manifestly hath beene
seene, and yet still appeareth: haue the rather for
a.iiij. these

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these vertues afore said, presumed upon your honourable courtesie, to choose you out, from amongst the rest of the right honourable, to be the Patrone of this my poore trauell, vnder whose godly protection it might marche, and be sheilded. Humbly beseeching your Lordshippe not to regarde so muche my baldnesse in my choise, (for the whiche I craue pardone) as the ende, wherefore the Historie was first written, and for what cause also, I haue put the same in Englishe. And then I doubt not, but that your good Lordshippe will the better accept of the one, for the cause of the other. And, for your honourable and godlie dealyng, as well towarde the worde, as also towarde the godlie Ministers, you haue shewed your self to resemble, that valiaunt and milde leader of the children of Israell, Moses a verie true, and faithfull seruant of GOD, ouer his house and Church all his life long: And so your Lordshippe still perseueryng therein, as you haue begonne, shall not onely resemble Moses, but followe also the godlie steppes of that valiaunt Captaine Josua, Moses his successor, who, as we read in the laste Chapter of his Booke, after he had assembled all the people together, and recounted vnto them the woonderfull thynges, whiche God had doen for
them,

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them, he exhorted them therefore, to serue the lorde in perfectnesse and truth: and not serue those Gods whiche their forefathers had serued, on the other side of the flood, and in Egipte, saiying further vnto them, that if thei thought it not good to serue that Lorde, that thei should chose that daie, whom thei would serue. For (q. he) if you intende to serue the Gods whō your forefathers serued, or the Goddes of the Ammorites, in whose lande you dwell, you shall serue them alone for me: For, I and my house will serue the Lorde, who hath doen all these thynges for vs. VVhiche Grace and boldnesse, I beseeche the Lorde our God, euen for his mercie and truthe sake, graunt you, and all her Maiesties moste honourable and faithfull Counsellors. I shal not here neede (right honourable) make any lenger discourse of the first occasiō of these troubles, other then as I haue in the beginnyng touched: for if I did, I should trouble our honorable eares with superfluous matter, seeyng the readyng ouer of the same (which, if it might so please you, I gladly wish) will leade you to a more sufficient and better vnderstandyng thereof, whiche hath been one especiall cause, why I haue offered it vnto your Lordship: But more especiall, to shewe vnto your good

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Lordship some parte of my poore affectiō, and good
will towarde you , who desireth nothyng more,
then in all humble and duetifull maner, to doe you
suche seruice, as maie beste agree with your honou-
rable liking , and so moſte humbly take my leaue.
Beſechyng the Lorde further, ſo to rule and guide
your harte and mynde continually in his faith,
feare, and loue , as hetherto he hath doen, that his
glory maie be aduanced, his Church, and this
commonweale, partly by your meanes , in
peace and Godlineſſe, preſerued and
maintained. London the xv.
of Marche 1583.

Your Lordships moſte humble in
the Lorde alwaies to bee
commaunded.

Thomas Stocker.




TO THE HIGH, NOBLE,
Honourable and wise Lordes, my
Lordes of the Estates, the Deputies, Presidentes
and Counsellers, Burroughmaisters, Scoutes
or Marshalls, Maiors, Bailieues, and to al other Officers
and Ministers of the Prouinces whatsoeuer, vniited
to the lowe Countreys: your most humble and
obedient vassall and subiect Theophile,
wisheth Grace, Peace, and loue
from G D D, through Iesus
Christ his only beloued
Sonne our Lord.



Eyng (my good Lordes) that all
 Princes, Rulers, and Gouvernours
 are the ordenaunce of God, and, as
 Sainct Paule in the 13. to the Ro-
 maines, and diuers other places of
 the holy Scripture witneseth vnto
 vs: Carie not the sworde in vaine,
 but for the preservation and main-
 tenaunce of the good, and the resi-
 sting and punishyng the wicked and vngodly: Well then, haue
 my Lordes, the Estates, and Magistrates of the Prouinces vni-
 ted to the lowe Countreys, deserued all honour and commen-
 dation, who, after the wonderfull dissensions and breaches of
 certaine of the Prouinces and Cities (that separated them sel-
 ues from the greater number, bothe forgettyng al their honor,
 and othe, and condescendyng and agreeyng to the Enemie)
 haue not onely continued their vnitie, but haue a greate deale
 more confirmed the same: and therefore when I thoroughly co-
 sider of the great constancie and stabilitie of the Estates of *Hol-
 lande and Zeelande*, as also of the marueilous greate fidelitie of

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my Lorde the Prince of *Orenge*, who ioyntly, and altogether, very faithfully haue performed all office & duetie in the main-tenaunce of the warres against Tyrauntes: I could not possibly but commende and set forth their deserued honour, commendation, and praise, aboue all the rest of the Nations whatsoever, that haue been so wonderfully aduaunced and renowned, as wel by the Auncient, as also by the late Historiographes. And therefore, in my poore opinion and iudgement, I can not see how the confedered and vnited Prouinces maie doe better, then to followe the waies and steppes of the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*, in euery point and condition, in making warre, and standing against the force of all the rest of the Lordes and Princes of the other fisteene Prouinces: For, if thei had otherwise doen, thei had neither wonne honour, nor yet gained any thing els thereby. For, what a more wholesome, better, profitable, and necessarie thyng could thei haue taken in hande, then to fight and make warre for the Religion, and defence of their Countrey, by which meane thei might keepe themselues from the horrible oppression of bloodie Tyrauntes: seeing the very Heathen haue gotten them selues great honour, by defending of their Countrey.

Wherefore, sith the defence of a mans Countrey is so good and honourable a thyng: and the defence of Religion, a thyng farre more excellent, and of greater importaunce: there is great reason the Magistrate should wholly endeouour hym self to defende his good and faithfull Subiectes. But what way maie any Common weale most fitly be defended, whē as there reigneth suche greate discorde and dissention among Subiectes? Surely, there are two meete kyndes of meanes to bee had and vsed amongest three estates of men, for the defendyng and vpholding of a Common weale, in peace and vnitie. And first of all, the Magistrates, are to obserue two thynges for the defence and maintenaunce of a Common weale in tranquillitie: to wit, Iudgement and Iustice. By Iudgement, in seuerely, and not rashly, vsyng the sworde given vnto them by God, for the punishing of the wicked and offenders, to the ende the good Subiectes might bee saued harmelesse, and preserued from all oppression

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oppression and iniury: They are also to haue a diligent care, not to shed innocent blood, for feare that the blood of the Innocentes crie out to God against them, for venigeaunce, and so he require the blood of them at their handes: For, in the booke of the Cronicles it is saied vnto the Iudges: *Beholde ye Iudges what you doe, you execute not the Iudgement of men, but of God, you doe Iustice, when as you pronounce true and right Sentences: in defendyng the Wydowes and Fatherlesse, in doying of them speedie Iustice, not corruptyng the Lawe either for money, or rewarde, and not giuyng indgement to the hurte of any of the parties, either for want of not knowyng the cause, or els through ignorance.* Wherefore, it is a moste necessarie thyng for Iudges to be learned in the Ciuill Lawe, whiche thyng *Plato* the Heathen Philosopher well considered, when as he saied: *That, that Common weale was very happie, whiche was gouerned by wise-men, and Philosophers.* Secundarely, two thynges are necessarie in euery Christian Church, to the ende that no offences or dissensions arise amongst the people: The first is, the pure and sincere doctrine of the worde of God, with the true administration of the Sacramentes, neither addyng to, or takyng fro, any one of them: for, it is written in the Apocalipse, *That that man is cursed whiche either addeth or taketh awaie any thyng from the worde of the Lorde.* The other is, that discipline and iudgement be straighly kept in the Church of God, without tolleration, or dissimulation, or without respect of any persone or persones: That all Whoremongers, Drunkardes, and all other whatsoener that doe continue and abyde in greuous and grosse sinnes, be excommunicated and cast out of the Church, to the ende the whole Church be not corrupted and infected by them, and others, take offence at their doynge

Thirdly, there are two thynges necessarie to bee obserued in euery particuler Familie or housholde. The first is, that fathers and mothers of housholdes must bryng vp their Familie honestly, and not suffer their meney to want thynges necessarie: For, *S. Paule* saith, that that man is worse then an Infidell whiche provideth not for his housholde. The other thyng is of the correction and chaftefing of their children and seruantes,

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tes, who are to bee corrected and kept in awe. For, *Salomon* saith: *He that spareth the Rodde, hateth his Child.* For, youthe is compared, vnto yong Trees, because whosoever he bee that will haue straite yong Trees, must set a very straite staffe harde by euery of them: And so, if yong youthes be well taught and brought vp from their cradle in the feare of the Lorde, and in his waies and pathes, those youthes I saie, will become very honest, and feare the Lorde. Now then my good Lordes, if these three estates of men were well brought vp, the worlde would bee at a farre better staie then now it is, for then we should bee sure to heare no newes of so perillous ciuill warres, shedding of bloud, burnyng, and destructions of Prouinces, as now presently we see: for, many Prouinces are now brought to naught, many Cities sacked, the Enhabitauntes murdered, and vterly spoyled: and the onely cause and originall of altogether is this, that the three estates aforesaid are not duely and truely ordered and gouerned, and therefore of very right and reason, wee iustly feele the heauie indignation and wrath of God fallen vpon vs. Now, for conclusion my Lordes, I haue been very desirous to dedicate this my Booke vnto your Lordshippes, concerning the ciuill warres in the lowe Countreis, wherein you maie beholde, the originall and first beginnyng of these troubles and bloudie warres, together the stratagmes and practizes of the Popish and Spanishe Inquisition, vterly to roote vp the Church of God. Beseechyng you my good Lordes to take all in good parte.

Your most humble and
obedient Seruaunt.

Theophile. D. L.

I

The first booke of the histories of the troubles in the Lowe Countreys: conteyning the very originall and chiefe beginning of all those troubles, and cruell warres, which sith ens haue ensued.



The Scriptures of the Prophetes and Apostles, wheron the Church of God is built, haue of long time bin vnknowne vnto christendome, and ouershadowed with horrible darknes, and so were hid by the religious rable and Balamiticall priestes, because they might thereby, so much the more confirme and establish their vayne opinions and

foolish deuises, as the very foundation of all their wealth, and onely piller of their honoz and dignitie.

For, when Martin Luther began to bring to light the holy Scriptures, and had now manifested by the preaching of the Gospell many faulces and abuses, this doctrine of Luthers was extreame haled, not onely because it seemed to set forth a newe way and path vnto saluation, and so condemned our ancestours and predecessours: but also because it taught what mens inuentions were, and besides, laide open all the deceiptes and abuses wherewith the Church of God was infected: Insomuch, that by that meanes was no more called the Church of Christ, but the Romish Church.

Luther, the author of the light of the Gospell.

Howbeit this doctrine was principally contemned, reiect-
ed, and iudged to be most wicked, at such time as the sect of the
braynsicke Anabaptistes beganne to start vp in the Townes of
Munster, Amstelredam, and in the olde Donastarie of Fryse: to
wit in the yeere 1535. As by this short latine versicle engra-
uen ouer the Gates of Munster, in these capitall letters, bearing
date the selfe same yeere, manifestly may appeare.

The sect of the anabaptists arise in diuers places.

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Ecce peccata tua venerunt super caput tuum : that is to say,
Beholde thy sinnes are fallen vpon thine owne head.

The which Anabaptistes went about vnder the colour of religion and of the Gospell, vterly to depprue the Magistrate of all authoritie, and had deuised to make all things in common, saying that they were stirred vpon by the spirite of G D D to reforme the worlde, and to ordayne and set vpon another kinde of ciuill gouernement.

Whereupon, the enemye of the true doctrine which was preached in the beginning, had then that which hee looked for: Insomuche that the most mightie and inuincible Monarche of famous memorie the Emperour Charles the fifth, was aduertised that all such as spake agaynst the faultes and abuses of the Church of Rome, and refuted them, were infected with that heresie, and had determined to take away from Princes and Magistrates their authoritie and power, to abolishe all pollicike gouernement, to confounde all ciuill ordinaunces, and would see by and put in practise an horrible chaunge in all thinges: by which information, his Imperiall Maiestie was easily perswaded to ordayne and set downe very seuerer ordinaunces & edictes touching the cause of religion.

And to proue this to be true, his Maiesties edict published at Wormes, is a sufficient testimonie: by which was declared, that his Maiestie was thoroughly informed, that their doctrine tended to the same effect, & therefore, his will & pleasure was, that the same edict shoulde without dissimulation, or tolleration, & without respect of any person or persons, of what estate or condition soeuer, be put in execution. Insomuch, that all officers followed the same presently, some for the hatred that they had to the same doctrine, other some againe, for the spoyle which they looked for, sought to charge innocent men with the doctrine of Luther: being readier to obey the Emperours commaundement, then Gods, who saith vnto tyrants, when his people suffer persecution, why persecute you mee? And although the Anabaptistes doctrine was nothing like vnto the doctrine of Luther and Zwinglius, which tenderth to no kinde of sedition at all, yet for all that, the officers went so neere the consciences of men, as that they spared not to torment poore miserable soules with all kinde of crueltie, to the ende his

Maiesties wil might bee thoroughly folowed and furthered, whiche tended to the bitter rooting vp of them at once. Insomuch, that within fiftie yeeres next ensuing, there were without all doubt, more then an hundred thousande people put to violent death, by vertue of these ordinaunces and edicts: either els were forced through feare of the horrible tormentes to flye the countrey.

Nowe then, as easily may be perceiued, although the Lutherans were greatly persecuted in all quarters of Almane, and on the other side, the Zwinglians, or they of the religion in the low Countreys, who for the greater number fully iumped with the Lutherans, yet for all that, the great fidelity and obedience whiche they beare to their Kinge and naturall liege Lord, very manifestly and notoriously appeared: as they of Flanders oftentimes declared, in hazarding their liues and goodes for their Lord, and Soueraygne, when as they chased the French out of their borders: And besides, it is well knowne howe patiently they abode the tyranny, in keeping still, a good and pure conscience to God alone, alwayes obeying God rather then men, in the cause of religion, insomuch that one sorte of them was burnt, another sorte hanged, the thirde drowned, and the fourth sorte had no more hurt but their heades cut off: yea, they endured all the tormentes that might bee, and yet vsed they not once any worde tending to sedition, following therein, their Maister Christ Iesus, who being reuyled and euill dealt withall, neuer gaue foule language, but alwayes in their greatest tormentes prayed God, wishing to the Magistrate which tormented and executed them, all good and amendement of life, still praying to God for them.

The great patience of those of the Religion.

Surely, these were no seditious dealinges, neyther yet tending to sedition: yea the very enemies them selues of the Lutherans and Gospellers, were enforced maugre their beardes to confesse as much, but they saide in deede, the reason was, because they were not strong enough to withstande them.

Surely they would haue shewed some token of their insolencie, if there had been any spice of sedition in their heartes.

For, notwithstanding the long absence of their king, and the greates troubles and ciuile warres amongst their neighbours, they? consciences were continually thralled and

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oppressed, and they them selues most wickedly and cruelly handled by some of the officers and inquisitors, and suffered most obediently to be led like lost sheepe to the slaughter, and their goods to be taken from them and made away, so that their children were enforced to beg: or els being driuen out of the lande, were constrained to come into some other strange countrey to dwell, and liue there poorely, insomuch, that many ended their dayes in sorrowe, and great miserie.

The encrease of
those of the religion.

But, when the enemies of the Gospel perceiued that the number of the Protestantes or Lutherans in Germanie, the Huguenotes in Fraunce, and the Gueses in the low Countreys, dayly encreased, they cold the find out or deuise no better way to hinder the blessed proceeding of the preaching of the Gospel, then to bring in the Spanish Inquisition, or the corporation and house of the Inquisitors, by which they might attaine to the authoritie of Magistratie. And although his princely Maiestie, openly declared to the Countie Egmont and other noble men Knights of the order, that his Maiesties meaning was not to bring into shalldome his subiects, but to mitigate & ordaine milder and gentler lawes, whereby the religion might be directed and set forth in a good and commendable order: yet was it driuen in the ende to this point, through the instructions and perswasions of the Inquisitors, & his Maiestie altered his opinion, & gaue expresse commandement, & the new Bishops should be appointed, & counsel of Trēt to be kept, & Inquisition of Spain to be brought in, & put in execution, as you may briefly vnderstand by the letters sent by the Duchesse of Parma, ladie regent of the low countreys, to all the gouernors, Senates & Cities, wth the copie of his M^{ty} letters, conteining an expresse commandement, that the same shoulde be done throughout all the prouinces of the lowe countreys. Nowe, marke I beseech you, how litle authoritie the king had in Spaine, when as his wordes and letters were of so small force and effect.

The Inquisition,
on, the very well
spring of all the
ciuill warres.

When these things were published, and the maner of the proceeding of them, deliuered to the handes of the Inquisitors, such trouble of mind, feare, & sorrow, so possessed the hearts of euery one, as if they had receiued sentence of condemnation, & yet notwithstanding, there appeared no signe or token of sedicion, neither was there any wicked practise once thought of, or shewed by any person whatsoeuer: but still kept a plain & direct course, by way of

supplicatio, as þe Supplicatio presented by the Antwarpians suffi-
ciēty testifieth: declaring, þe anciēt priuileges & statuts gran-
ted by the Dukes and Princes of olde in the Belgique prouin-
ces, ought not to be infringed oꝝ broken: as by the Article next
ensuing, may very well appeare, that is to say:

The Duke shall not chaunge the auncient statutes and
priuileges but by the Councell and aduise of all the estates in
generall, and those, to be assembled duly and in good order:
neither may they be cōmanded and assembled by the Cleargie
mē. For that were against the princes oth which he taketh,
at his ioyfull entrance into the Dukedome: wherefore, they
will not haue the ancient priueledges and franchises defaced,
but soundly conserued, as well as those actes, especially which
king Phillip hath granted, vpon that point.

But before I goe any further, I will set foorth vnto you
more at large their meaning, to the ende you may the better vn-
derstande the matters that folow, & the merueilous things whi-
che fell out about them. To be short, I will set downe vnto you
the excellent priuiledges of Brabande, in fixe articles following,
whereof the first beginneth thus.

The most excel-
lent priuiledges
of Braband.

First. The Duke shall not assemble the Clergie, without the
knowledge oꝝ consent of the other two estates, to wit, of the no-
bilitie and citizens.

The seconde. The Duke shall not pursue any of his sub-
iectes oꝝ enhabitantes, but by the ordinarie way of iustice oꝝ law,
to the ende the accused may defend him selfe by his aduocates oꝝ
counsellors of the law, so that they may thereby in all pointes be
able to defende his cause.

The thirde. The Duke shall not impose any taxes oꝝ tol-
lages vpon his subiectes, without the consent of the estates of the
countrey.

The Fourth. No straunger may take vpon him the ad-
ministracion of any honourable office in Braband, but such offi-
ces as are of small estimation oꝝ importance.

The fifth. When the Duke sommoneth and sendeth for the
generall estates, to obtaine any thing at their hands, the Braban-

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ders are not bounde to remoue, or conclude of any thing out of their countrey.

The sixt, if the Duke will forcibly or otherwise infringe or desface their priuiledges, the Brabanders, after dueiful and gentle protestation, are discharged of their othe made to the Duke, & at their free choyse to doe whatsoeuer they thinke good.

Duer and besides the aforesaid supplication of the Brabanders, they of Flanders, exhibited another supplication: & although answer was made them, that the Kings meaning neither had byn, nor yet now was, to bring in the Inquisition (which made h people greatly suspect, h the kings commandements & edictes were counterfeited in the low countries without his Ma. knowledg) yet for al this, there was great & maruellous preparation made in al places. For, in al Senates, courts & Parliamēts, some were appoynted, to looke whether his subiects went to masse or no, & whether they folowed the ordinances of the romish church: which officers were bound to make true certificate therof once euery 3. moneths at h court of Bruxelles: yea & the Inquisitors theselues had ful authority to execute such their imagination and deuise as was cōformable & agreeing w that instructiō that was granted the 31. of May in h peere 1550. By which they had ful cōmission & authority to administer the Inquisition, to condemne, correct, & chastise, or to imprison, and appoynt into the handes of the magistrate and officer whom they would. Moreouer, that they might haue & vse what filthy prisons soeuer they pleased, to iudge without any ordinary maner of lawe, & sometimes chose anye one of his Ma. counsel to giue iudgement as pleased them, & according to the forme & tenure of the popish Bul. This sentence was giue against al such as were suspected to be of the religion, or as they themselues said, of Luthers or Zwinglius heresie: and as many as read any of the books forbidden by the Pope, should be burnt with those bookes: and as many also as frequented any conuenticles, where any disputing or reasoning of the holy scriptures was. Duer & besides this, al his maiesties subiects of what estate or condition soeuer they were, whether President, Counsellor, Borroughmaister, or whatsoeuer officer els, were enforced before the Inquisitors, to take knowledge of as many as were pressed vnto them, & punish al those that were fauourers of heresie and heretikes.

Furthermore, the Inquisitors tooke a note of all merchants &

A supplication
exhibited by
those of Flan-
ders.

A secret & moke
subtill perswasie
of the Spanishe
Inquisition.

artificers, poore, or rich, that were any way suspected of p̄ reformed religion. The Inquisitors are commonly Franciscanes, or preaching friers, which take a note of al suche as come not to confession, or that offer not to their boze: giuing a copie of the to the new bishops: whose officers, as others, & Sariauntes, first of al, by cōposition burdened the poore soules, who soone after were enforced to flee the countrey if they would not be taken, & so put to death: as by experience, often was seene.

At that time it was noyled all the low countrey throughout, & supposed to be a most certaine truth, that Duke Erike of Brūsil-
A brute & r-
mor of warres
in the low coun-
tries.
 wike had leuyed a mighty army both of horsemen & footmen, to plant the Inquisition in the low countres by force of armes, accordingly as he had befoze, by the deuise & purpose of the Cardinal of Granuelle, enterprised to accomplishe, & so by that meane meāt to make a conquest of the prouinces of the lād of Belgique, and abolish al priuiledges and franchises, and in the end make an absolute kingdome of it: & for this cause, was the charge committed to the rulers and captaines, who had receiued money of Duke Erike for the leuying of men of warre.

These newnes engendered such a great feare in the hearts of
Many mer-
chants got the
away into other
countries.
 the people, as that the notabest & richest merchāts of p̄ countrey got, & packed by al their goods together, & went away into other lāds: insomuch that the artificer had no work, to set himself bypon, al rēts & reuenues decreased, many cities & townes were vnpopled, so p̄ it was a lamētāble thing to see into what a miserable estate the low couētre, which befoze, was the Paragon of all trade of merchandise, & not the like in the vniuersal world to be found, was fallen, & now become thus sodainly desolate & ruined. Againe, there were certaine gouernours & officers of great authority & wealth, who first considering of the horrible effect & tenure of the letters, manifestly declaring, p̄ in case there were any man that would oppose himself against the meaning of those letters, & not ayde the Inquisitors for the accomplishing of their commission, that he, whatsoeuer he was should be deposed from his estate, & another placed in his roome, & next of al, they seeing the fury and wrath of the people to be greatly moued through such disorderly charges and tyrannies, and become so outrageous & mad, that they would not spare any magistrate or officer whatsoever.

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And last of all considering that they coulde not with a good conscience in such a case, be both plantifes & Judges, they were fully resolved to peeke by their offices into the kings hands, if he purposed to persist in that his intended opinion.

On the other side, the ancient enemies of the house of Burgoin, would in no wise let slip, this occasion, but carefully and diligently sounded the heartes of the inhabitants of this low Countrey, to see if they could by any meanes possible make them shake off their fidelitie from their Prince & Lord, having gotten men for that purpose, to shewe vnto them, howe insupportable a bondage, that is, by which all other franchises, priuiledges, and other ordinaunces are defaced and broken: and that there shoulde be other Lawes and Statutes appointed after the manner of Spaine, which should haue full power and authoritie ouer their moueable and vnmouable goods, their wiues and children: yea, that all the goodes which they haue so long possessed, should now be no longer theirs, but shoulde themselves also be brought into slauerie and bondage: Howebeit they tolde them that this thing shoulde not take effect, before such time as his Maiestie shoulde submit himselfe vnto the Inquisition. Neither did they forget to shewe the great dammage and losse whiche the countrey was like to receiue, through the want of the recourse and company of the Marchantes: seeing that marchandize is the very nurse of these prouinces, and that by reason of the trade thereof in other partes, the inhabitants of the lowe Countreys, should be ready to starue: And that which is moze, that the bondage of conscience, wherunto they shoulde be alwayes tyed, was now concluded vppon. Moreover, they compared all these thinges to other prouinces and regions, with their franchises and liberties, saying, that these prouinces, farre passed all other in trade of marchandise, and goodnesse of Ground: and further tolde them, of the great commoditie which other prouinces receiued from these lowe Countreys, and coulde not be without them. Neuerthelesse, their fidelitie and constant loyaltie to their prince was so great, and wrought so in them, as that they gaue no eare to such suborners: but aduertised the Magistrate to beware of this fetch and drift, and preuent it: howbeit, they were no whit the moze abashed for all this, neither knewe they what was best for them to do, or what best, to be left vndone.

Now, for the better vnderstanding of the cause why, and in what sort these new bishops were erected, we are to know, & the Priestes & Inquisitors, for their better assurance of & bringing in of the inquisition into king Philips dominions, considering that certaine ecclesiasticall prelates, in some measure fauoured the Protestants, and were in great authoritie and very rich, they therefore greatly enuied them for it. For which cause the Inquisitors imagined to erect a newe estate of prelates, and to deuide the Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, Abbacies, Priories, &c. into many partes. And to this ende, in the yeere 1558. was appointed at the request of king Philip, by the Ecclesiasticall estate, Francis Sonnius a Doctor in diuinitie, and sent to Rome: who hauing set forth the noblesse of the lowe Countries, and the great riches of the Ecclesiasticall prelates there, wrought his matters so wisely, as that hee compassed this much, That Pope Paule the 4. of that name, by the aduise of seuen Cardinales, appointed for that purpose, gaue the saide Sonnius audience, and graunted him his demaund. Whereupon, they tooke from the Archbishopricke of Coloigne, whose dyocesse was ouer large, & Bishopricke of Vtrecht, & made & same an Archbishopricke, wherunto they subiected fise other Bishops: to wit, the Bishopricke of Deuenter in the countrie of Transsilaine, the Bishopricke of Harlem in Holland, the Bishopricke of Leauwarden in Friseland, the Bishopricke of Middlebourgh in zealande, and the Bishopricke Groening in the countrie of Wedde. All which places are farre distant from the Citie of Coloigne, neither doe their languages agree with them of Coloigne, and therefore the sentences pronounced at Coloigne, could not wel bee vnderstood by the lowe countrie men. And again, the citie of Coloigne was so farre thence, as that it was an eight dayes iourney in passing, and very chargeable, and besides, the bishop of Coloigne had not kept his ordinary visitations long time before. And therfore, for the moderating and qualifypng heereof, they erected Verecht into an Archbishopricke, because it stood in the midst of the other suffragane bishopricks. Besides, they erected the Bishopricke of Cambray into an Archbishopricke, wherunto they subiected 4. other suffragane bishopricks: to wit, in Artois, the Bishopricke of Arras, and the bishopricke of S. Omer: in Tournois,

The bringing in of the new Bishoppes.

Sonnus sent to Rome.

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the Bishopricke of Tournay, in the countrie of Namur, the Bishopricke of Namur. They also erected the church of S. Rumold at Malines, into an Archbishopricke, wherunto they subiected 6. Bishops, to wit, in Brabant, the Bishopricke of Antwerp, & the Bishopricke of Boysleducke: in Gelderland, the Bishopricke of Rurmond: in Flaunders the Bishopricke of Gand, the Bishopricke of Bruges, & the Bishopricke of Ypres. There was appointed to euery one of these new Bishopricks for the maintenance of the estate, sixe thousand florins of yeerely rēt: but to the bishopricke of Malines ten thousand. Now, for the more fitt and better assigning out of these 6. thousand florins there were certaine Suffraganeships of cathedral churches conuerted into Bishopricks, & if the reuenue of the Suffraganeship amounted not vnto 6. M. florins as aforesaid, the rest was assigned out of the Abbeyes next adioynning. But because the citie of Tyrwine, and the Cathedral church therof were in the former warres destroyed & razed, that diocesse was equally diuided amongst three Bishopricks, for, that part that was in Flaunders, was assigned to the bishopricke of Ypres: and that part that lay in Artois to the bishopricke of S. Omer: and that part which lay in Fraunce, to the bishopricke of Boloigne.

Now this diuision of suffragane bishopricks vnder the Archbishopricks, was made to this end, that euery Archbishopricke should haue within it self one selfe same language, to wit, eyther Mallonish, Flemish, or els Guelderlish. It was also appointed in euery of these Cathedral churches, that the niene Prebendes which were first boyde, should be assigned after this manner, to wit, three vnto Noble men, three to Diuines, and three to Canonistes, vpon condition, that they should assist the Bishoppe in the Inquisition, but chiefly and especially the Diuines and Canonistes, of which, 2. of the auncientest & learnedest diuines should be Inquisitors, These mē, for their payne, trauel, & aduancemēt of the religion, next vnto the Deane, should haue the first voyce in the Chapter, & an hundred florins wages. Furthermore, that no Pastor of any Church should be admitted, except he were first examined by a Doctor of diuinitie and a Canonist, and by them found to be a meete man for that purpose. That euery bishoppe which should be absent from his bishopricke by the space of 6. months

Doctors of diuinitie appointed in euery cathedral church.

neths (vnles he were sent by the Pope or the prince in some commission or embassadage) should lose his reuenue for that time, eue as well as any of the rest of the Canons. Lastly, that the Archebischoppicke of Malines, shoulde bee chiefe aboute the rest, & that the Archbishop which was Legatus natus, should be there resident & abiding in his owne person, & he might be alwaies neere vnto the kings court at Bruxelles, which prefermēt, Lopin & Cardinal of Granuelle had got for himselfe. That the king should haue & nomination of the bishops, and the Pope, the confirmation.

But because we might the better vnderstand to what ende all this geare tended, I haue thought it very expedient and good, to set downe the 12. articles that were inuented & practised by the Spanish Inquisition, to the end they might inuade, get, and tyrannize the Belgique prouinces: which articles were found in the house of M. I. Hessels a counsellour of the councill of troubles: by which, euery mā may easily perceiue, the good wil they beare vnto the low countries, & to the prosperity & welfare of our common weale, as hereafter in the drift & purpose of this historie, by the resolution or determination of the Inquisition, confirmed at Madrid, the 26. of Febr. 1568. by the sentence of his Maiesty, against the low countries, manifestly may appeare.

Articles and determinations of the Spanish Inquisition for the inuading, getting, and tyrannizing of the lowe Countries.

THE moste sacred or holie office of the Inquisition so often times by his Maiestie attempted in the low Countries, and euen vnto this verie present stayed and hindered, shall by this moste expedient manner of dealing bee instituted and aduanced.

First, the erring and wickedly confederating Emperour with the Heretikes, muste bee perswaded, to resigne ouer vnto his sonne all the dominions, terretories and full gouernment of the lowe Countries. For, wee haue hitherto too too vainely gone about our businesse with the Emperour, but we shal at our pleasure deale wel inough with his young and simple sonne, concerning this holy Inquisition.

Secondly, soone after that the Emperour and his two sisters haue

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haue giuen ouer their charges, lest the lowe countries, and gotten themselues into Spaine, wee may assure our selues that they will not returne thence, to hurte the sequels of our proceedings.

Thirdly, These beeing dispatched, it shal behoue vs also to remove the king from vs, and so deale with him, as that hee neuer returne thence, and that no Fleming bee suffered to haue accesse vnto him, or yet speake with him.

Fourthly, That the king shal write and send vnto the orders of the Cleargie men of the low countries, to accept fiftene new Bishops with the inquisition, who shall haue free power ouer all secular Iurisdiction, yea euen to deale in matters of high treason.

Fifthly, The subiectes of the low countries, by reason of their malice and ouer full fed, will reuolte, rayse commotions and tumultes agreeing to all thinges, sauing vnto those that wee bring in.

Sixthly, The princes and nobles, with the chiefe leaders and Authours of these factions, as also the subiects, may heereupon by some flie and subtill dealing bee dispatched of their liues, and the rest brought into good frame and order.

Seuenthly, We will at our owne perill like of the reauers & robbers of all churches and images, and by some subtill shifte or other make all the worlde impute the fault thereof vnto the rebelles, and so by that meane wee shall get the vpper hande of them.

Eighthly, wee will ouerthrowe all trafficke, trade of merchandise, riches, wealth, liberties, and priueleges: and bring them all vnto extreme beggerie: and so by this meane the Realme shall be euer ours.

Nienthly, There shall none in all the low countries (except those of our faction) bee thought worthise to liue, so that in the ende wee will roote out from amongst them all goods, landes, occupations, and all good order: and make a new kingdome and new people thereof.

Tenethly, For accomplishing of this office and dealing, the wise and valiant duke of Alba shall be personally present, and in regard of him, no man els shall bee esteemed of, no although he
bee

bee of the king or princes blood: and that if any of them, be suspected of neuer so small a crime, they shall bee by cunning deprived of their liues.

Eleuenthly, That no contracts, lawes, promises, pardons, othes, priuiledges and soleinne grauntes, of the lowe countries, shalbe to the inhabitants thereof of any effect, but bee founde all as giltye of high treason.

Twelfthly, about all things great heede must be had, that in these so waightie causes, & matters of so great importance, there bee no violent dealing all at once, but faire and easily, and by little and little in very good order: to the ende the princes, nobles, & communitie might fall out amongst themselues, and one persecute another, insomuche that the persecutor himselfe might fall into the grinne. For, in all Christendome, there is not a more foolishhe and indiscrete nation, and more easily to bee deceiued then the Fleming, whose infidelitie God by this meane will punish.

In the yeere 1559. the Inquisitors & other their complices, with the helpe of Pope Paul the 4. went about to put in practise the establishing of the newe Bishops, but they were as yet withstood, and put of by the Estates. Whereupon they of the lowe countrie exhibited their supplications and complaints vnto the king for the staying of the same, howbeit they tooke small effect: which thing when the noble men of the lowe countrie saw, they thought this change of the Ecclesiasticall estate to bee very strange, and perceiued it to tend to none other end, but to the bringing in of the Spanish inquisition into the lowe countrie. Whereupon, they again made their supplications and complaints vnto the Dutches of parma gouernesse of the lowe countrie for the king, vnto the yeere 1562. In which yeere, they were very desirous to see an end of the troubles and ciuill warres in Fraunce: in the meane while continually beseeching the saide Lady Regent to intreat his Maiestie for some moderation, which shee receiued in the yeere 1563. Afterward they besought that they might obtaine the same libertie, that the French had obtained at the handes of their king: considering that the French king had neuer brought his Realm vnto that peace and quietnes, neither yet his subjects vnto that obedience, but by the graunting of them the libertie of

The estates
will not allowe
the new bishops

conscience

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conscience, and exercise of religion, according to the edict made at Orleance: and therefore they besought his Catholique maiestie, to graunt vnto them the same grace and fauour. After that the principall Lords had shewed and laid open, the ancient priuileges, and liberties, the oath of the king, the obedience of the subjects vnto his maiestie, the concord of the countrey, and the great number of the Protestants, they obtained release of the rigorous commissions, and a surceasing of the Inquisition, wherupon the troubles for the more part were appeased, which thing greatly displeased the Cleargie men, but especially the Cardinal Granduelle: For they saw their purpose made boide, and the worde of God aduanced, with increase of a great number of people which frequented the sermons. Which thing caused the Cardinall of Grâuelle haste him into Spaine, and neuer gaue ouer vntill such time as he had set all his affaires in good order, and brought the to passe euen as he would.

Ambassadors
sent to the king
from the counsell
of Trent.

Duer and besides all this, there arriued at the Court of Spaine, certaine Ambassadors from the Councell of Trent, sent from the Inquisitors, who aduertised his maiestie of all that was concluded vpon in the saide Councell, euen from the beginning into the end, which was in Ianuarie 1564. Whereupon, his Catholike maiestie was perswaded and induced to publishe those decrees, and cause them to be kept from point to point, and to this end sent he them into the lowe countries, that they might there take effect, as also into all other Countries vnder his subiection, with expresse commandement vnto the Dutches of Parma, that she should with all diligence establish the Inquisition, & go orderly on with it, as by the copie of the letters here set downe manifestly appeareth.

Margaret by the grace of God, Dutches of Parma & Plaisance &c. Ladie Regent and gouernesse, &c.

Right deare and welbeloued, although sicence the beginning of the gouernment of my Lord the king, heereabout in the low Conntries, as well by the renewing and publication of the commissions and ordinances of the late, of most famous memory my Lorde Charles the Emperour (now resting in the glory of

of God) about the cause and state of religion, ratified and confirmed by his royall maiestie, as also that, which thence he wrote vnto you of by the same, euen at his last departure from these countries, vnto his realmes of Spaine: you haue been alwaies able to vnderstande his maiesties good zeale and most holy affection, for the preservation of our auncient, true, catholike faith, & religion, and the rooting out of all y^e sects & heresies here about in the lowe countries: yet notwithstanding seeing it hath pleased his saide Maiestie by reason of certaine occasions to put vs againe in minde by his last letters, of his most holy intent and purpose, wee, by his expresse charge and commandement are very desirous to impart vnto you that, which he hath writte vnto vs, the effect whereof is this much: That his maiestie desirynge nothing more then the conseruation of the saide religion, and the keepynge of his good subiects hereabout in good trāquillitie, peace, vniety, and concord, and to preserve them from al inconueniences, which we see to happen in diuers places of Christendome, by reason of the alteration of the said religion: his maiesties meaning and intent is, that the sayd commissions and ordinances of his late imperpal maiestie, and his, be entyrelly and wholly obserued and kept, as also his maiesties meaning is, that they cruely and straitly obserue all whatsoever the holy councell of Trent and prouinciall Synodes haue established, as touching the reformation set downe by the Cleargie, without contradiction or gaine saying thereof, to the end that in punishing the heresies, manners also may be reformed and amended: and besides, that the Inquisitors of the faith may haue all the fauour and assistance that can bee, about the executing of their offices, and that the Inquisitors shall deale with their said inquisition, euen as they haue beche vled to: bee dealt withall vnto this present, both by the lawes of God and men, which thing his maiestie also expressly commandeth by his sayd letters. And accordyng to this answer of hys maiesty, as also for the obeying thereof in so holy and fauourable a thyng, we could not forget to wyte this vnto you, to beseech, & requyre you, & in his maiesties behalf straitly to charge you, to gouerne & guide you herein, accordyng to hys maiesties ordynace, wout crossing y^e same in any one point or article, & y^e you let all officers & lawiers of y^e principal Cities of
your no-

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prouince to vnderstand the same, to the ende they may therela frame themselues accordingly without dissimulation or colleration, vppon paine of the punishment contained within the saide Commissions. And for your better vnderstanding hereof, you shall charge and depute a Councellour of your colledge (who neuerthelesse may bee changed from halfe yere to halfe yere, because one man should not alwayes stand charged with the same) that shall doe nothing els but haue an eye to the saide countrie, in regard of the obseruing of the decrees of the said holy counsaile, and alwayes aduertise you of whatsoeuer cometh to hand, that you may therein make prouision according to his Maiesties said meaning. And for as much as wee might alwayes vnderstand the state of the religion, accordingly as hath bene before saide: we beseech and will you as aforesaide, that you write particularly vnto vs, from three monethes to three monethes of the successe therein, hauing alwayes recourse vnto vs in any case of controuerisie, or to som of his maiesties priuie counsaile, that may make report thereof vnto vs, vnto whome also wee will giue the like charge, and shall haue a perticuler care thereof, and agree with you, and him, whom you shal put in trust, in euery condition touching the same. And to the end you may the better see the expresse will of his saide Maiestie, concerning all the thinges aforesaide, wee haue caused to bee annexed vnto this, the pointes of the letters, & of the rest of his maiesties writings, touching this matter, that you might according to the forme and tenure of the same, order your selfe without committing of any error therein. And thus for the present, right deare and welbeloued I commit you to God.

From Bruxelles the 18. of December 1565. and vnderneath was written *Margaret*: And vnderneath it, signed
* *One'rloope.*

The Superscription was,

*To our right deare and welbeloued the Presidents and
Counsellours of the king, in Christ.*

An abstract of the kings last letters and writings, sent to my
Ladie the Dutches, with the last dispatch as touching the
state of religion.

First, concerning as well the old as the new commissions and
ordinances of the said state of religion, his maiestie vnderstan-
ding in what state and condition the matters of religion heere a-
bout stood, it was not meete that any change should bee made of
the said commissions and ordinances: but that the said commissi-
ons of the late imperial maiestie, and also his maiesties, should be
put in execution. And so his maiestie might perceiue that the oc-
casion why this mischiefe encreased and went so far, was by the
negligence, loosenes, and hypocrisie of the Judges. And that see-
ing there were some Judges who either durst not, or els would
not put them in execution, for feare of tumult or bypote, that his
maiestie might be counselled to provide for men there, that were
of greater courage, and more zealous to take in hand the said exe-
cution, whereof could be no want in those countries, where were
so many catholiques that desired to serue God and his maiestie,
and that in so doing, & executing of the said commissions, it was
to bee hoped that the harme which grew thereby, might by that
meanes be the soner and better remedied, then any way els. For
the second: which concerned the Inquisitors of the faith, his
maiesty charged her highnes to hold such an hand on the matter,
as that the Inquisitors myght find fauour as touchyng the exer-
cise & administratiō of their charge, in whatsoeuer was meete
for the benefit and maintenance of the religion, his maiestie ha-
uing this meaning & the Inquisitors should deale with the sayde
inquisition, as it was wonted to bee dealt with all euen vnto that
present, both by the lawes of God & men, & that this was no new
or strange matter, seeing it had bin alwaies so vsed frō the time
of the late imperial Maiestie, and his, the inconueniences which
they ouer much feared being manifest, neerer at hand, and far
greater, in not foreseeing vnto those things which were behoue-
full for the office of the Inquisitors, and for theyr assistance. And
sich her highnes might wel see that, which this matter imported,
his maiestie gaue her in charge, that shee shoulde as much as in

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her lay, do that that was so necessary, & neuer yeeld to haue any other thing then it, to be dealt in, seeing her highnes knew how neere it touched his heart, and what pleasure and contentation it would bring him.

Thirdly, his maiestie willed her highnes, that seeing the holy counsell of Trent was now published, and that ther remained no, thing els to be done but the setting vp of the new erected bishops, y her highnes would put to all the possible help she could, for the effectuall and conuenient proceeding thereof. And that she should also see, the ordenance of the counsell of Trent executed about the reformation of the liues & maners of the cleargie, by which both his maiesty, her highnes, and all other his maiesties officers were charged to shew al their fauour, & help, as far as was needfull in y behalf. & if so be it should so fall out, as that his maiestie should be diuinen to make prouision for the same, that it should be forthwith dispatche euen amongst those cleargie men whiche would not submit themselves to the reformation set downe by the bishops, agreeing with y decree of the said council of Trent.

And in the end, this was the closing vp of altogether, that the thing which his maiesty wrote to her highnes of, as aforesaid, was most conuenient for the benefite of the religion, and the countries thereabout, which without it, were of no valure, because that the religion was it that must bee the locke and key to censerue them in their right, & keepe them in peace, rest, and quietnes. And seeing that her highnes saw the great importance thereof, his maiesty againe required her to take that course, because, as hee said, it would be the thing that he best liked of, and would cause him to thinke the better both of her highnes, and also of the Lordes that were about her, whom of very right she ought to charge, to bestow their paine and trauell about the same, according to y trust which his maiesty reposed in them, wherein they right wel knew that they should not onely greatly content & please him, but also doe such offices & duties therein, as became such noble estates as they are, and so acquite & discharge that bonde wherein they stand bound for the seruice of God, his maiestie, the common weale of the lowe countries thereabout, and theyr owne particular benefite.

The protestant. Many of the nobilitie beeing greatly abashed and amazed at this

this his maiesties charge and commandement, and foreseeing a most assured and utter desolation necessarily following the execution of this his excellencies, and her highnes, determinations: so wisely dealt with the Dutches of parma in that matter, as y^e in the end shee sent the Counte Egmont towarde the kyng of Spaine, giuing him charge & commission, to seek by al meanes possible the mitigation of his maiesties heart, in getting him to cease the inquisition in the countreies thereabout. Whē the Counte was returned out of Spaine, he brought letters thence with him to the Dutches, charging her to deuise some sound & fit meanes for the quiet & tranquillity of the country, alwayes prouided that the catholike religion should in no wise be empayred. For per-
forming wherof, she appointed 3. bishops, & three doctors, who were wel seene both in diuinitie, and also in the ciuill & cannon lawes, that they myght be the better able to discern & iudge of such as were accused of heresie. But because this seemed to be o-
uer weake a moderation, & tending to the abasing of princes amongst they^r subiects, the inquisition was a fresh brought in & established, & cōmandemēt giuen, y^e the decrees of the councell of Trent should be obserued, & a seuerer proceeding had, agaynst the aforesayd supplyāts. Nowe, as the cōmon people were heereat greatly troubled & perplexed: the nobilitie were determined to declare vnto her highnes the mischiefe that therupon might ensue, protesti^{ng} y^e they had sufficiently discharged the duty of loy-
all subiects & vassals vnto his maiestie, if for want of such proui-
sion therein as they had deuised, any ruine or desolatiō shold arise vnto y^e countrey. And for this end & purpose there met at Bruxelles the 5. of April, 1566, about 200. Gentlemen, & exhibited to her highnes this supplication here set downe.

abashed at this
commandement

The speeches which the L. of Brederode vsed vnto the lady Regent, before he deliuered vp the supplication.

MADAME, the gentlemen in this city here assembled, and the rest of the same condition and qualitie, who are not in num-
ber fewe, haue not met and stayed here together for any other respects then for the seruice of the prince, and common weale of y^e low countreies, in most humble wise to exhibite vnto your highnes this supplicatiō, vpoⁿ y^e view & sight wherof it may please you to take such order as by y^e same may seem cōueniēt, beseechi^{ng} your
highnes

The oration of
the Lord of
Brederode.

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highnes to take it in good part.ouer and besides this, Madame, we are let to vnderstand that we are charged before your highnes, the Lords of the Councel, and others, that our chiefe determination hath been, to stir by tumults, to cause reuolts, and to make sedition: and that which is most detestable, they haue charged vs that we goe about to change the prince, by practising of leagues and conspiracies with strange princes and captaines, as well Frenche, Germanes, as others: which thing we neuer once thought of, and is the very thing in deed, that is cleane contrary to our fidelitie and allegiance, and that your highnesse shall find by readyng ouer this supplication, most humbly beseeching your highnes by the way, to shew vs so much fauor, as to discouer and name vnto vs those persons who haue so vniustly flandered so noble and honorable a companie.

And besides this, madame, the Lordes here present, are let to vnderstand, that there are some of them particularly accused and charged to haue lift by their hands, & gone about to put in execution the abouesaid wicked enterprise, as well with the French, as also with other strangers, wherewith we finde our selues not a little greeued: and therefore we most humbly beseech your highnes to do vs þ good & pleasure, to name vnto vs both the accusers & the accused, to the end þ the wrong & wicked deed being discouered, your highnes may make thereof a quicke and speedy exāple of iustice, whereby you may meete with the mischiefes & hurt þ therby might fall out, assuring our selues, þ your highnes wil neuer suffer so noble & honorable a cōpanie, to stand vniustly charged, with so shamefull & wicked attempts.

The supplication of the nobilitie of the low countries exhibited to the Dutches of Parma and Plaisance, &c.

Madame, it is right well knowne (as presently also may be scene) that the great fidelitie of the people of the low countries, towards their Lords & naturall princes hath euer, al christendome ouer, bin highly renowned, in which alleageance the nobilitie haue alwayes been chiefe, as men who neuer made any reckoning eyther of their bodies or goods, for the increasing of theyr Princes honour and glorie. Wherein wee, his Maiesties most humble vassals, entende (by the grace of God) for ever to continue from good to better, insomuche as wee will

will day and night be ready, both with our bodie and goodes most humbly to serue him, and therefore we seeing vpon what termes the state presently standeth, haue rather chosen to take a little fault vpon our selues, then to conceale such thinges as hereafter might turne to his Maiesties hurt, and so eftsoones trouble the peace and quietnes of these countries: trusting that the effect will in time shew, that of all the seruices which wee might haue done, or may doe, in time to come vnto his maiestie, this, which now we are about, will be thought to be the notablest, & to greatest purpose, whereupon wee assuredly perswade our selues, that your highnesse will not but take it in good part. Although then Madam we doubt not, that what soeuer his maiestie hath heretofore, yea and at this present doeth ordeine for the cause of the Inquisition, and the strait obseruing of the commissions vpon the state of the religion, hath not had any sound ground and iust title, and so continue the same, whiche the late Emperour Charles, of famous memorie, had vpon a good meaning stayed: yet neuertheles, seeing that the difference of times, bringeth therewith diuersity of remedies, & y although not many yeeres sithence, y said commissions for al this, were not rigorously executed, yet haue they giue occasion to breed many grievous inconueniēces. Surely, his Ma. last determinatiō, wherein he did not only forbid y any moderation of y said commissions should be had, but also gaue expresse comandemēt, y the Inquisition shoulde be obserued, & the commissions most sharply executed, giueth vs very iust occasion to feare, y therby not onely the said inconueniēces may come & grow: but that there may also in the end, a generall commotion ensue therof, tending to the miserable destruction of the whole countrey, as the manifest tokens of the alteration of the people (which euery where may be perceiued) layeth it wide open before our faces,

Wherefore, we knowing y manifest likelihood & greatnes of the danger which threaten vs, were in good hope euen vntil now y eyther the nobility, or els the Estates of the countrey, woulde at some couenient time, haue made supplication vnto your highnes: to the end some remedy might haue byn found for the same, by taking away y cause & original of the mischief: & therefore, after we had seene, that they were therein nothing forward, vpon what

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occasions we know not, and that in the meane while, the sore dayly increased and grew woofse and woofse, insomuch that the danger of a generall commotion & reuolt was euen at the doores: haue thought it our duetie, according to the othe of our fidelitie and alleageance, and with al the honest and good zeale which we beare vnto his Ma. & to the cause: no longer to stay, but rather to be the very first to set forward, a matter of so necessary and needful a duty, & so much the freelier and readilier, by how much we haue the greater occasion to hope, y his Ma. will take our aduertisement in very good part, considering that it toucheth vs more neerely then any of the rest, because we are such as are soonest to be thrust out vnto all inconueniencies and miseries which commonly arise vpon the like accidēts, hauing for the more part our houses & goodes situating & being abroad in the countrey, and therfore lying as a pray for al the worlde: considering also, that in the generall pursuing of the sharpnes of the saide commissions, as his Ma. had giuen expresse commandement for their proceeding, there should not one mā amongst vs, no not one in al y countrey hereabout, of what estate & condition soeuer he were, which should not be found guilty of the losse both of body and goods, & subiect to the slaunder of the first enemy that came, who, to haue part of the spoyle, would, vnder the colour of the commissions, accuse any whatsoeuer, leauing none other refuge vnto y partie but the onely fauour of the officer, into whose mercy both his life & goods should be thrust. In consideration whereof wee haue so much y greater occasion, most humbly to beseech your highnes (and that by this our supplication) to take some good order herein. And (because it is a matter of importance) that it would please you, as soone as might be possible, to dispatch and send some carefull and meete man towarde his Ma. to aduertise him, & on our behalfe most humbly beseech him, that it would please him to forsee for the same, as well presently, as for the time to come. And because the same cannot be done by letting the saide commissions to stand in their full strength, considering that thereon hangeth the originall of the saide inconueniencies, that it would please him to harken to the abolishing of them, which wil be the very necessary meane to withdraue the whole destruction and ouerthrowe from all these countries hereabout,

And

And to the end hee should not haue any occasion to thinke that we (who haue none other purpose but to yeeld him our most humble obedience) would goe aboute to hydle him, or els otherwise force him to make such lawes as pleased vs (as we doubt not but that our aduersaries will interpret our meaning to the worst) but it would please his maiestie to make other ordinances by his aduise and consent of all the estates in generall assembled together, to the end the things abovesaid might be foreseene and prevented, by other meet & convenient meanes, & without such most euident dangers.

Most humbly also beseechynge your highnes, that when as his maiestie shall haue vnderstood of our iust petition, & ordered the same as shal seeme good vnto his good and iust wil and pleasure, that it would please him in the meane while to prouide for the foresaid dangers, by a generall surceasing aswel of the said inquisition as also of al the executions of those commissions, vntill such time as his maiesty hath set some other order therein.

Expresly protesting, that asmuch as to vs appertaineth and belongeth, we haue discharged our selues of our duty by this present aduertisement: So that now, we haue acquitted our selues both before god, & the world, declaring, that if so be any inconuenience, disorder, commotion, reuolt, or bloodshed, hereafter shal fall out about this matter, for want of finding out of a remedy for the same in due time & season, that we are not to be found fault with, and blamed, as men hauing concealed so apparant a mischief: wherein, we take God, the king, your highnes, the Lordes of the counsell, & our owne consciences to witnes, that wee haue proceeded as hath become the kings good, loyall seruants, & faithfull subiects, without exceeding the bounds of our duties, whereupon also we so much the more instantly beseech your highnes to vnderstand the same, before such time as any other mischief ariseth thereon. In doynge whereof you shall doe right well.

Exhibited by Henry of Brederode, Lord of the said place, accompanied with the nobilitie of the low countrie, the 5. of Aprill. 1565. before Easter.

The answer, which the Ladie Regent made in the counsel of Estate, to this supplication, is this that followeth.

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When her highnesse had vnderstood the contents of the supplication, she was fully purposed to send messengers with the same vnto his maiestie, & to doe him all the good offices y^e her highnes could deuise, which might any way serue to dispose & incline his maiestie to condescend vnto y^e request of the petitioners who neuer looked for any thing, but for that that was worthie & agreeing vnto his natural & accustomed benignitie: howbeit, her highnes had already, before the comming of the aforesaid suppliants, by the help and aduice of the gouerners of the prouinces, knights of the order, and counsell, that were with her, trauelled to deuise and set downe a moderation of the commission for the state of religion, to be exhibited vnto his maiestie, which moderation her highnes hoped should be such, as in dutie should reasonably content euery man. And seeing y^e her highnes autoritie, as the suppliants might very wel consider of & vnderstand, extended not so far, as to be able to surrease the Inquisition and commissions, according to their desire, & that it was vnfit to leaue the countrie in the matter of religion without law, her highnesse had this good confidence in the petitioners, y^e they would be contented with her sending vnto his maiestie, to the end aforesaid, and in the meane while y^e she looked for answer, her highnes would take order that the Inquisitors (where there were any as yet remaining) as also the officers should haue respect, to deale so discretely & soberly in their charges, as that no man shold haue cause to complaine: & her highnes also trusted, y^e the suppliants likewise would so behaue themselves, as that ther should be no need, other wise to vse y^e same, and it was wel to be hoped, that her highnesse would deale so dutifully towards his maiestie, as that he would be contented to discharge the rest of the Inquisition where shee was, so far forth as shee was able to vnderstand, as had already been declared by the supplication of the chiefe cities of Brabant, that they should not be charged therewith. And that her highnesse would so much the more franckly dispose her selfe to doe all good offices vnto his maiestie, to the end and effect aforesaid, because shee did assure her selfe, that the suppliants were purposely determined, not to make any innouation about the auncient religion, obserued in the countries here about, but the same to maintaine & obserue with all their power and might.

Giuen

Giuen by her highnesse at Bruxelles the 6. of Aprill 1565.
before Easter.

Whereunto the nobilitie replied the 8. Aprill, as followeth.

MAdame, after wee had seen & read your highnes answere
set vnto vs, we could not but first of al most hūblie thank
the same for the speedie dispatch thereof, but especially for the
contentment and good liking whiche your highnes had of this
our assemblie, which was for none other cause, saue onely for the
seruice of his Maiestie, and the common good & tranquillitie of
the countrey. And for the greater contentation and quiet of
the same countrey, wee woulde haue been very glad, that your
graces said answere had been set downe more largely and plain-
ly, neuer theles, sith your highnesse, as we vnderstande, hath not
nowe that auozitie that we would be glad you had, for the which
we are right sozie, yet we trust, vpon the hope and assurance whi-
che your highnes hath giuen vs, that you will set suche an order
therein, as wel amongst the Magistrates as amongst the inquisi-
tors, as shal enioyne them to stay al suits commenced by Inqui-
sition, or by any eyther of the old or yet of the newe Edictes or
Commissions: vntill suche time as his Maiestie hath taken
some other order about them. And seeing wee for our parte,
Madame, desire nothing els, but to followe whatsoeuer his Ma-
iestie wick the aduise and consent of the generall Estates assem-
bled, shall ordayne for the maintenance of the ancient religion,
wee trust so to behaue our selues, as that your highnes shall haue
no occasion to be displeased: & if any one commit any grieuous
or seditious fact, let your highnes and those of the counsell of the
Estate appoint such chastisement, as the desert of the fact requi-
reth. And we here againe protest, that if any inconuenience here-
vpon doth arise, for want of good order set herein, that wee haue
satisfied and perfourmed our duetie: Most humble beseeching
your highnesse to haue good liking of this our bounden dutie,
and receiue it as our seruice for his Maiestie: Offring our selues
so remaine your highnes most humble & obedient seruantes, & to
die at his feet in his seruice, whensoever it shal please your high-
nesse to command vs.

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The Marques of Bergues, & the Baron of Mounigni, were by the common aduise of the counsel of estate, sent towards his Ma. into Spayne, & in the meane while there was some mitigation & release of the accustomed sharp dealing, but yet they of the reformed religion continued their assemblies in houses by small numbers, attending his Maiestyes wil and pleasure.

Nowe, a litle before that the Nobility of the countrey had exhibited this supplication, her Highnes suspecting some mischief, by reason of the assembly of the Nobility, had made the woorst market of the matter that possibly she could haue deuised, had it not beene, that some of the counsell encouraged and comforted her, emongst whom, was one man especially, which (as it is said) was the Lord of Barlaymont, who sayde vnto her, Tush, tush, Madame, bee not dismaid, neither feare these Gueles, for there are wayes and meanes enow to ouerthrow them, & utterly roote them out. This saying, truly vttered by hym, the confederates accepted, and tooke it vp for a common name amongst them, and thereupon cloathed themselves in whytish or frysars gray, euery man hauing hanging at his gyrdle a wooden clapp dish, trimmed rounde about with an hoope of siluer enamaled black, wherein were engrauen these words, *Vine les Gueux*, that is, God saue the Lazare or spittle man. And after that, one of the chiefe of that company, drunke at Bruxelles the fift of Aprill in such another dish, and when he had drunke, hee cryed, *Vine les Gueux*.

Mozouer, in signe and token of their wonderfull fidelitie towards their prince, they did weare about their neckes the picture of king Phillip, some grauen in golde, & some in siluer, & on the backside of the same picture, was the figure of hande in hande, with the clappe Dish and Mallet: and about it, this deuise,

Fideles au Roy, insgues a la Besace, that is, faythfull vnto the king euen vnto Beggars state. They had also Copper Counters, on the one side of which was engrauen, *Escu de viane*, that is, the shilde or armes of Viane, and on the other side, *Per feu et flammes*, to wit, through the hoate burning fire and flamme, with the armes of the house of Burgome.

The Original
or first bringing
vp of the Gue-
les,

In the moneth of May the yeere 1566. the Inquisition and Commissions surceased, and besides, all Magistrates and Officers were forbidden the exercise and execution of them, against the subiectes, vpon payne of the punishmentes conserned in the Commissions.

A surceasing of the Inquisition and of the commissions.

But as a fire long time kept in, waxeth very hoate, & after bursteth out into great fiery flammes: euen so they of the religion, hauing this aduantage, and being no longer able to keepe in, beganne to manifest them selues, and make common and open assemblies: first in lowe Flanders, and soone after at Antwerp, where they beganne openly to preach the 24. of June, being S. Johns day in the aforesayde yeere: about a quarter of a myle out of the Citie. Shortly after, they of Tournay followed, and so likewise did many other Cities of Hollande, Zelande, Brabant, Flanders, and other places. The number of them came to the assemblies, so dayly encreased, as that a man woulde haue thought the people had come to a fayre or market, when after long dearth, great store of Corne had been brought thither.

Nowe, for the first preaching that was at Antwerpe, the people resorted thither without their forbidden weapons. But when they were aduertised of a conspiracie, intended agaynst them, they beganne, contrary to the Kinges and Regentes Proclamations, to carry them for their defence agaynst the Inuasion and furie of the conspirators.

But after they were come backe into the Citie, they layde them away, and in the meane tyme besought the chiefe officers, eyther to grannet them some guard or defence agaynst those people, or els suffer them to meete together within the Citie, that they might not bee thrust out into any such danger, and in case they woulde so doe, they woulde altogether lay away their weapons.

In this meane while, the Prince of Orange was entreated to come to Antwerpe, to preuent the troubles that were like to ensue. And when he was come for that purpose, hee trauelled by verie instant Orations to cause the preachinges cease for thre weekes or a moneth.

The prince of Oranges coming to Antwerpe.

In which tyme, hee put them in good hope, that the generall Estates woulde meete togeather for purueying
for

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for the same. But forsomuch as, they of the religion forsooke not any good to arise by this surceasing, but an assured occasiō of trouble and muteny amongst the people, which coulde in no wise abyde to be spoyled of the benefit that they tasted of, by preaching, and that this surceasing would turne to an better abolishing thereof, because the Estates had not met together, as also experience had taught them, besides many other reasons: It was tolde vnto his excellency, that it was neither reasonable dealing with God, nor yet expedient for the common benefite of the citie, to surcease the said preachings. And so by this meanes, the exercise of the religion was continued. And as for the bearing of weapons, when as they of the religion had shewed in what daunger they stood by their meeting together out of the city without weapons: it was told them that they might very wel vse them whiles they were in their assemblies: But that they should leaue them without and not bring them backe againe into the Citie, wherewithal they were very wel contented, therein more and more shewing their simplicitie, in not looking into the waranting of theselues, their wiues and chilozen, against these helhoundes that then lay abroad.

A solemne
procession of
our lady of
Antwerpe.

The 18. of August solemne processions of our Ladie of Antwerp were made, after the old custom, wherin they carried about with them, the image of our Ladie, garnished and apparrelled in cloth of gold, & with many other precious iewels, as if she had been a Queene.

This Image was carried about by the worshipfullest men of the Citie, alwayes changing them at certayne quarters and crosse wayes of the Streetes. There were at that tyme at the prince of Orange his house, the Princesse his wife, his brother, the count Lewys, and many other Gentlemen to beholde this solemne festiuall procession. When this solemne procession was ended, the Image was set vp in the midst of the Church as it was wonted to be, where it was accustomed to stande, vntill the Saturday following. But because my masters of the Chapiter feared some disorder to come, by reason of certayne wordes that y^e people spake in y^e time of y^e processio, saying, O Marie Marie, the Carpenters wife, this shall be thy last festiuall day, the was
ta.

taken away and set vp againe the Tuesday following in her owne Chappell, where she was wont to stande.

The 19. of August, the Prince departed from Antwerpe, and went to Bruxelles, to the ende to receiue, with the rest of the Counsell of the Estate, an answer which her highnesse had promised to make to the deputies of the nobles, the 20. or 21. of that instant, by reason of a supplication which they had exhibited, tending to the withstanding of the apparant troubles and commotions in the Countreys.

The prince of Orange his going to Bruxelles.

Nowe, as they continued in maner and forme as aforesaide in their common and publike Sermons, certaine of lowe Flanders began to put downe Idols and Images, which thing was prosecuted in many Cities of the Countrey, and amongst the rest at Antwerpe, with such assurance and diligence, as if some man had had expresse commandement from the Magistrate to execute suche an exployte with expedition. This defacing of Images was the morrowe after that the Prince was gone from Antwerp to Bruxelles, which was on Tuesday, being the 20. of August about fixe of the clocke in the after noone: And the occasion hereof grew by this meane, that the Sunday next before, as afoze is sayde, a great Image of the virgin Marie was caried about in solemne procession, which was wonted to be set vp and left in a certayne place of the Temple for eyght dayes together, about which euery man and woman according to their deuotion, crept on their knees two or thre times: and on the Tuesday following the Priestres, hauing shutte vp the Church doores, placed her agayne in her ordinary roome. And about two of the clocke in the afternoone, there came to our Ladies Church certayne Pariners, and other yong fellowes, and merueiling that they had so often remoued the Image, cryed out and sayde, Marie, crie viue les Gueux, that is, God saue the Gueles, wee will giue you the place, with such other like pleasantiestes. They asked also the woman that was wonted to sell the waxe candles, and gather vp the offrings, why they had so often remoued the saide Image: and sayde further vnto her that shee might nowe shutte vp her Shoppe well inough, for there were none that would buie any of her marchandize.

The woman, mooued and grieued with these wordes, cast the

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the Ashes which thee had there in a pot into their eyes. Whiles they were thus testing and sporting, there went to the Towne house two substantiall men, and tolde the Magistrate of these tumultes and vyppozes : The Magistrate amazed with these newes, went to the Colledge, and comming thence, after he had paused there a while, he went with the Margraue, accompanied with foure Seriantes, foure Halberdiers, and a great trayne of people vnto the Church : And when the Boyes and young fel- lowes sawe the Magistrate, they went out of the Church, and then beganne the Magistrate to vse these discreete speeches, vnto the people, saying : My good friendes, I pray you get you hence, howbeit there was neuer a man that woulde once styre, so that hee was fayne to gette him out without any more to doe.

Soone after, the young fellowes aforesayde came backe to the Church with one of the captaynes of the Guard of the preachers, & shutting in the Church doores fel a singing of Psalmes, which Psalmes being sung, every man begā to pull down & deface the Images, in so much that the very same night they had throwen downe the Images not onely in the great temple, called our Lady Church, but also in all the rest : yea and in all chapels, & Cloysters : where they made very great vnwonted caues, as if they would haue drowned the Doggesheades of wine and beare, after they had drunke more then ynough, and carried away all the stooze of fleshe and of other prouision whiche they coulde lay handes on : Howebeit there were none that did thus, but beggers, women, and wilde headed young fellowes. And besides, they deliuered out of prison in the couente of the Franciscane Fryers, a poore Fryer that had been kept in prison 12. yeeres for the preaching of the trueth, and deliuered also a French Baker : who had been a yeere and an halfe in the towne Wyllson, for the religion, and confession of the Gospell.

The Wednesday and Thursday following, the worshipfull companies of liueries, or brotherhoodes that had their Alter or Chappell in the aforesaide Ladie Church, beganne to pull downe that, that remayned, and carried it out of the Church, whereupon, there were others that followed them in the same Church,

Church, and also in the rest, to pull downe also that whiche they had leaft, and this was done as if they had had commission to doe it, the Magistrate not once setting him selfe agaynst them to defende it, vntill at the last it came to passe, that his Maiesties Armes were broken. But when the Magistrate hearde of that, *The kings arms broken.* the Borroughmaster Stralen entered into y^e Church, with a cer- rayne number of Mariners, all hot, who discharging their peeces, draue away all the Begggers, and so shutte vp the Church doores.

The Tuesday in the euening, the chiefe officers being troubled with these beginninges, desired one of the ministers of the Flemmish Church, to goe to the Temple, and exhorte those that had broken downe the Images, to leaue off. Whereunto hee obeyed, and going vp into the pulpit to that ende, spake vnto them. But when he sawe that they would giue no eare vnto him, hee, for the auoyding of a greater mischiefe, departed. Neuerthelesse, they of the religion were charged with this violence. Whereupon also, they were blamed for robberies, and other insolences which thereon had ensued.

In regarde whereof, the sayde minister Herman Strypker of Swelle, went vp agayne into the pulpit of the sayde Lady Church, on Thursday in the morning, being the 22. of August, and there, made a shorte collation vnto the people, protesting in the first place, that this violence of pulling downe of the Images, was done without the knowledge of the ministers, and the rest who had the charge of the Church committed vnto them: and in the seconde place, disallowyng and detesting the spoyles, pilferies, and other insolences that had ensued: and exhorted all such as had any of the pillage and spoyles, to carrie it to the Magistrate.

And to knit vp the matter withall, he admonished the people of the obedience that was due to the Magistrate, and of the concord and peace requisite amongst the people.

With this exhortation were many moued, & deliuered vp into the hands of the Magistrate, not only siluer crosses, but also many gilt chalices, & other iewels, telling their names, surnames, and dwelling places, offering them selues to become prisoners, if it were so the Magistrates pleasure,

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Howbeit, the Magistrate receiued their Jewelles, and thanked them for their fidelitie and loyaltie.

The same day in the after noone, the people notwithstanding that there were men set of purpose at the Church doozes, to tell them that there shoulde be no Sermon, for they were in deed made to beleue that there shoulde bee one, yet for all that they came together in great numbers vnto the sayde Church, instantly desiring that they might haue a sermon: Insomuch, that for feare of an uprore, the minister which had exhorted them in the morning, was fayne to get him by agayne into the pulpit, where hee made a reasonable long exhortation, tending to the same end and purpose, as in the morning.

This Tuesday being the 20. of August, a great number of the Citizens of Antwerp, both Fleminges and Malons, had made theselues ready to goe in the morning to Buxels towards the Dutches of Parma, Ladie Regent of the lowe Countrey, to the ende to beseeche her that they might obtayne to haue a publike Church in the citie of Antwerpe, for the exercise of their religion.

The ministers,
and consistorie,
purge theselues
before the Ma-
gistrate.

The Fryday following, being the 23. of August, the ministers, & the rest, who had the charge of the Church of Fleminges and Malones committed vnto them, for the effectuall purging of them selues of certayne slanders, and to assure the chiefe officers of their affection and good will, exhibited vnto the Boroghmasther M. Verheyen, the Pensioner Mesonbeck being assistant there with him, the propositions and articles ensuing.

To the ryght worshipfull the Boroghmasthers, Sheriffes, and Counsell of the Citie of
Antwerpe.

Right worshipfull, wee in trueth protest as before the Lord, that this pulling downe and abolishing of Images, hath been done without our knowledge and consent.

And as for the pilferies, pillages, robberies, and the other dissolute arrogant partes, which haue followed, wee mislike and abhorre.

And therefore our meaning is, that the Ministers shall ex-
hort

hozte, as they haue already done, their Auditorie in their Sermons, that they wholly abstayne from such kinde of dealing, & bring agayne into your possession, that which hath beene felonously taken away.

They of our Church, are ready to yeelde themselves altogether obedient vnto your worshippes, for the opposiing of themselves, by your commandement, against all sackinges, violences, thestes, and such other like insolences.

For, we acknowledge our selues to be established by the Lord, through the office of the Magistrate: and therefore, are bound to obey you, not onely for feare of punishment: but also for conscience sake. And so consequently, we ought and will faithfully paye all taxes, tollages, customes, imposts, subsidies, tenthes, and whatsoeuer charges els that shall bee layde vppon vs, whether they be ordinary or extraordinarie: Confessing, that they which shall refuse to doe it, or deceitfully deale in this behalfe, shall offende G D D, and are punishible at your M. handes.

And for the greater assuraunce of that that hath beene before sayde, the Ministers of the woorde, and the rest which haue the charge of the gouernment of the Church committed vnto them, are readie, if neede bee, to sweare vnto you to bee faithfull and obedient in all thinges, according to the will of God, and his woorde, for the conseruation of the benefite and commoditie of the Citizens and Inhabitanes, and also of the Citie.

Beseeching you, that vnder your authority and protection, wee maye assemble our selues in some Churches, meete and able to receiue vs for the exercise of our Religion, and not take it in ill parte, if we serue our turnes with any one of them, according to the present necessitie, attending vntill suche time as you haue purueyed for the same.

In the meane while our meaning is not to inforce any mans conscience, or constrainne them to receiue our Religion, contenting vs, and prayling God, that he hath giuen vs the meane to serue him after our manner of religion, trusting that your M. will so provide, as that both one and other shall haue that that shall content them.

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And that it would please you to set downe an order, that the one iniurie not, nor offer violence to another, about the cause of religion.

This was exhibited in the name of the Ministers of the word, and of the rest of the Gouernoures of the Churches, both of the Fleminges and French the twentieth five of August, 1566.

The Pensioner, in the name of the said worshipful Borough maister, answered, that they would communicate these propositions with the Colledge. And that in the meane while, they should aduertise those of the Religion, on the behalfe of the chiefe Officers, not to come at two of the Churches, to wit, the greate Church, called our Ladies Church, and Saint Georges. That same euening the Pensioner did let them vnderstande that the intente of the chiefe Officers was, that they should abstayne from two other Churches, to witte, from Saint Michaels, and Saynte Iames, as appeareth by a Billet signed with his hande, the tenure whereof ensueth.

By maisters, after I had made report of your good will, which appeared by that you had proposed, together with the writing, the same euening exhibited, as I was forthwith enforced to departe for the cause you wrote of: The chiefe Officers for certayne respectes and notable aduertisements whiche thence come, haue commanded me that ouer and besides our Ladies Church, and S. Georges that were this day named, that you should likewise, for the present, abstaine from S. Iames and S. Michaels. Which your obedience shall greatly please the Magistrat, and you therein shall shew your good willes. And so with my commendations, I end. In post haste the 23, of August, 1566.

All yours, Iames of Wesenbecke Pensioner of
Antwerpe.

When they of the Religion heard that they were forbidden the occupying of these foure Churches aboue specified, they had

had conceiued this opinion , that the Magistrate woulde bee contented at the least to winke , at the seruing of their turnes with the rest of the Churches. Wherefore they that spake Flemish, would needes preach on sunday morning being the 24. of August at the Boroough Church, and the Malonnes meant to preach at the Jacopins.

But the very same morning, there came two Gentlemen from the Prince , shewing them, that they must at no hande haue recourse to anie of the Churches, howbeit that the chiefe Officers coulde bee contented that they shoulde meete together in the newe Towne . And for this purpose they deputed one of the Sheriffes to goe and appoynt the wardes to suffer the people peaceably to passe as they went to the Sermon in that place.

But forsomuch as the Fleminges were already assembled in great multitudes in the saide Churches, it was thought beste to let them alone for that morning , vppon condition that they shoulde in the Afternoone , goe to the Sermon in the newe Towne , as the Malonnes did . Who beeing not as yet gotten into the Jacopins (for they kepte the doozes shut vppon them, when as they heard that there was a discharge brought, & they shoulde not come in any Church) assembled themselves in the new Towne, by the authoritie and permission of the Magistrate.

Nowe , at that tyme was greate trouble in Antwerpe , as well by reason of the pulling downe of the Images , as also in regarde of the publique Sermons , whiche then serued in steede of Passes : Insomuche that the whole Citie kepte almoste continuall watche and warde, and the Gates, and shoppes thereof were close shutte vppe. Whiche was the cause that the Prince of Orange, (who, as before is saide, was gone to Bruxelles) made speedye returne to Antwerpe the five and twentye of Auguste , with the charge as Gouvernour appoynted by his Maiestye , for the pacifying of the troubles.

For the bringing of which to passe, he caused two gentlemen to require at the handes of the two Churches, to witte, the

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Fleminges and Malonnes, to depute ech of them, foure wise & skilfull personages, who should communicate with his excellency, what meanes were best to appease & assure the people both of the one religion and of the other.

To this charge were chosen and deputed for the Fleminges: Marke Peris, Charles of Bombergue, Herman vander Meere, and Cornelius of Bombergue: And for the Malonnes, Francis Godyn, Iohn Carlier, Nicholas du vinier, and Nicholas Sellyn.

Whiche eight deputies were allowed and authorized to this charge by the Prince the 28. of August, and by the chiefe Officers, the laste of the sayde moneth by their deedes graunted to these endes. Nowe, for the first conference, his Excellencie propounded to the sayde Deputies, these fiftene Articles ensuing, with the aunswares to euerye of them exhibited by the sayde Deputies in the name of both the Churches, and his Excellencies aunswares againe, to euery of their aunswares.

To my Lorde Monsieur, the Prince.

M^y Lord, forsomuch as in your Excellencies absence, we may haue some other his Ma. Liutenant, not endued with such wisdom, iustice, and affection vnto the common weale & quiet of this Citie, as your selfe, we are therfore inforced for our greater assurance in time to come, to haue certayne poynts to vs propounded more particularly to be cleared & manifested, which we would not thinke needful, if wee were assured alwayes to haue to deale with your Excellencie, by reason of the great trust whiche we repose in the same.

The first and second Articles.

First, you shal be no let to the Papists, for their going to their Churches, neither yet trouble them for the hauing of such exercise of their religion as they shall thinke meete & conuenient.

2 You shall not preache in any Church, but onely in the newe Towne, and that in suche places as shall bee assigned to you.

The

The Answere.

ALthough the Churches are common and free for all the Burgesſes, and not particuler to the Papistes, yet doe wee promise neither to take nor occupie eyther by force or violence anye of them, neyther yet trouble the Papistes in the exercise of their Religion. Yet notwithstanding wee humblye beseeche your Excellencie, to appoynt vs some Church of theirs, for the exercise of ours, hauing regarde to the multitude, and to the right that wee haue as Citizens, whiche wee can by no meanes loose, by reason of the embracing of the doctrine of the Gospel.

The third Article.

3 You shall haue but two Preachers, and those to be of the same countrey borne.

The Answere.

WE pray that the number of the ministers may be according to the multitude of the people, and that you will graunte vnto vs for the present necessitie, at the least eight for the Flemishe Church, and three for the Malonnes. For the rest, wee agree that the ministers of the word shall be of the same countrey borne, the kings subiectes, or receiued Citizens in some good citie hereabout.

The fourth Article,

4 You shall not carrie any forbidden weapons vnto the Sermons, but shall lay downe at the Princes feete al forbidden weapons.

The Answere.

AS for the first poynt, wee verily beleue, that his excellencies meaning is not, but that it shall be lawfull and free for euery of vs to weare a sword and a dagger, and that hee will not graunt a larger libertie vnto the rest, then the said sword and dagger.

And as for the seconde poynt, which is to laye downe all forbidden weapons at the Princes feete, vnder correction, it should seeme þ such a proposition concerning the priuiledges of the citie, ought to be made generall to all Citizens and inhabitants of the same.

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The fift.

5 You shall make a Catalogue or roole of all their names that bee of your Church, and the Prince shall call them before him, to knowe of them if they had the same Catalogue.

The Answere.

Forasmuch as, the libertie which we presently enioy, is not confirmed by the king and y^e generall Estates, therefore there are manie, that will hardly graunt to haue their names in writing, and withall, it will be very harde to make such a Catalogue, as his Excellencie desireth, by reason of the great multitude of the people: and therefore we beseech him not to take it in euill part, if herein we satisfie not his desire: but that hee may bee somewhat informed of the number: beseeching his Excellencie to appoynt commissioners for the viewing of the assemblies.

The sixt.

6 You shall obey the Magistrate, and giue your attendāce for the conseruation of the cōmon weale, accordingly as he shall appoynt.

The Answere.

We agree to that, alwayes prouided that the priuiledges be kept sound, and without preiudice to the Religion that now is permitted vnto vs.

The seuenth.

7 All such Preachers as shal preach seditiously against the Magistrate, or others, shalbe driuen out and banished the Citie.

The Answere.

We agree to that, so that the reprehending of false doctrine, the abuse of Ceremonies, and corruption of manners, bee not taken for seditious speeches, and that the same which shalbee alleadged, shall be duely verified by men worthy to be beleueued and vnsuspected, and that al other preachers may bee subiect to the same law.

The eight.

8 You shal not change, increase, nor diminishe those that are
of

of your Consistorie, without the knowledge of the Prince, nor yet take in newe ministers.

The Answer.

FOr the more assurance and safetie of his Excellencie, wee beseeche that it would please him to depute one Magistrate or other that professeth our Religion, vpon whose fidelitie your Excellencie may rest, who may be assistant to the choosing of the ministers, Elders, and Deacons, and to all the affaires which shall be dealt withall amongst them, for the gouernment and rule of their Church.

The ninth.

9 You shall not trouble nor laye handes one of another, by reason of the diuersitie of the religion, but ayde and defend the, if any man shall seeme to offer them wrong.

The Answer.

Wee agree to that, so that they doe promise as much in our behalfe.

The tenth.

10 You shall not hinder the proceeding of the lawe in any cause whatsoeuer, but especially in the executing of the spoylers of the Church.

The Answer.

We agree to that, alwayes prouided that we be not barred of anie lawfull meanes or wayes.

The eleuenth.

11 You shall not sing in the streetes in companies, but onely at Sermons, and the exercises of your Religion.

The Answer.

We agree, that no man shall sing in the streets in companies.

The twelfth.

12 A thousand of you shall subscribe to these poyntes as houe sayde.

Answer.

FOrsomuche as the resolute establishment of our Religion is put to the deciding of the generall Estates, we think that there are many which wil hardly subscribe, neuertheles if

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rest will be ready to doe it, we hope that we for our parts will doe the like.

The thirteenth.

13 You shal prouide to doe all these thinges, betwixt this & the assembly of the Estates, vnto whom you shall submitte your selues by othe.

The Answere.

WE agree to that, alwayes prouided, that if any thing bee ordeined contrary to our conscience & the exercise of our religion, that we may haue a reasonable time set, for vs to depart with our goods whither soeuer we shall thinke for our best safetie without stoppe or stay.

The fourteenth.

14 You shal haue an assurance giuen you.

The Answere.

Let our aduerse partie subscribe to the like Articles as aforesayde, and let his excellencie and the chiefe officers keepe both the one and the other, and let them also bee sworne vnto them, and the same also bee proclaymed at euerie corner of the Citie.

The fifteenth.

15 All seditious actes to be punished.

The Answere.

WE agree to that, so euery thing be done accordingly as is set downe in the 7. Article.

Nowe my Lorde, sith it hath pleased your Excellencie to demaund of vs the assuraunces heere aboue witten, and that wee as faithfull Subiectes and Citizens, desirous of the prosperitie, quietnesse and tranquillitie of the Countrey, and namely, of this Citie of Antwerpe, haue and doe freely consent thereunto in manner as aforesayde, especially, seeing that we haue offered the same by supplication, wee most humbly beseech your Excellencie to suppress the rumor that is spred abroade amongst the people, about the leuying of the souldiers for the garde of this citie, who cannot otherwise bee perswaded but that it is meant for a manifest ouerthrow and destruction of the same, as not many dayes sithence, hath both generally and particularly beene shewed to your Excellency by the whole comunaltie of Antwerpe.

Antwerpe, and knowing right well also that the Citizens and Inhabitanes of the citie continue still in that opinion, and that by reason thereof many strangers and Citizens are determined to depart the same,

It may also please you Sir, that after we had set downe in ^{An aduertisement} writing these aunswares, wee vnderstoode that there was ^{or warning of} a Proclamation made by the magistrate, and proclaymed ^{those of the re-} at the crosse wayes of the Citie, which made it fellowe in all ^{formed religion.} such as eyther did speake euil, or hurt any priest, in the Church or els where without anye mention making of our mutuall assurance, wherewith wee finde our selues not a litle grieved, considering that the same was conteyned in the first Article of the propositions whiche your Excellencie propounded vnto vs, whiche we are here ready perfectly to performe as may appeare. And forsomuch as the people are therewith greatly troubled and moued, we suppose the best way to helpe the same is, to proclaime forthwith on our behalfe the like defence and assurance, whiche thing we most humbly beseech your Excellency to doe, for the auoyding of al inconueniences.

The Answares of my L. the Prince.

First, his excellency accepteth of the promise made by these Suppliants in this behalfe.

To the second, he saith, that presently he cannot further pleasure the Suppliants, and that for sundry respects, vnto which, he must of necessitie haue an eye, but saith y they shall forthwith haue 3. places appointed & lent them in the new Towne, whiche they may easily make meet & fit for a preaching place, & for the exercise of their religio, vntil such time as his Maie. determination, with the aduise of the general estates, be knownen, after what sort the matter shalbe ordered.

To the third, he saith, that they shalbee suffered to haue three Sermons at a time, two in Dutche, and one in French: For the whiche purpose they maye keepe three Preachers at once. For the ease of whiche, they may take vnto them other three, if any of the rest should be absent or sicke, that might stand them in steede to serue them in the rest of their ministeries, and

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1
occurrances: alwaies provided that they be no strangers: and besides, they may haue other officers for their consistorie.

To the fourth, he saith, that they may not goe with, nor haue at their sermons, assemblies, and exercises of their religion, any harquebushes, pistolles, holbards, nor anye other forbidden weapons, alwaies provided, that no man shall forbid them the wearing of sword and dagger.

To the fift, hee saith, that hee is contented to temporize, or serue the turnes of these Suppliauntes, and to stay a while for the deliuering vp of this rowle, for the reasons by them declared.

For the sixt, his Excellencie accepteth of the accord hereupon agreed, willing them to keepe it accordingly.

For the seuenth, his Excellencie also accepteth of the answer to this Article, and it is his mind, and of the magistrate likewise, that all Preachers in general, of what religion soeuer they be, shall abstayne from all Inuectiues, wronges, and reproches, which thing he would also haue to be giuen in commandement to the preachers of the Suppliants, & likewise to those of the other religions.

For the eighth, his Excellencie, accepting of the offer vpon this Article, will depute and name vnto the Suppliauntes some one Officer, for the purposes in this supplication contained.

For the nienth, his Excellencie accepteth also of the accord agreed vpon this Article, and will take order with the Magistrate, that all the Catholiques shall obserue it in like manner, whereof they haue already begun to make a good assay, by the Proclamation that was yester day made, for the abstinence of wronges.

For the tenth, his Excellencie also accepteth it, & agreeth to the answer of this Article.

For the eleuenth, he likewise accepteth of the accord, had vpon this present article.

For the twelfth, his Excellencie suppoeth it to be both requisite and conuenient, that the ministers, Elders, Deacons, Officers, and the rest whiche are of the Consistories, with

with some sufficient good number of the best qualified of the Religion, doe subscribe, agree, and promise to keepe and make effectual these present answeres, with the articles & offers in this writing agreed vpon: and his Excellencie also doubteth not but to get the same to be signed by one of the Secretaries of the citie, in the name of the Magistrate: who, as he is to command in generall, and keepe in obedience all the Inhabitauntes of this citie: so by that meane, he shall be much better able to serue for the tuition, assurance, and quiet of these Suppliauntes and their assemblies, being certayne and sure that by reason of this singing, none of the suppliauntes shall hercafter be suspected, hunted after, nor troubled.

For the thirteenth, his Excellencie accepteth the accord vpon this Article, and doubteth not but that the Suppliauntes will be glad of the case to come, for the liberty whiche they themselves required.

For the fourteenth, hee would assure these Suppliauntes, as well by reason of the sayde singing, as also of the proclamations, that al the Inhabitants lyuing in obedience, & politique tranquillity should be protected without regarde of Religion either of papacy or protestancy.

For the fifteenth, his Excellencie accepteth of the answer to this present Article.

And as for the other pointes of the suppliauntes answeres his Excellency replieth as followeth.

For the first hee aunswearth, that the lenieng was not for to trouble any in the exercise of his Religion: But contrarywise, for the safetie and quietnesse, as well of the Suppliauntes, as of all others, insomuche as they were all Citizens, and swoyne to doe nothing agaynst the Priuiledges, nor agaynst anye that were of the Religions, but indifferently to stande in defence agaynst all violences, as they might at large see by their Articulations, of whiche, his Excellencie would not sticke to bestowe on them a Coppe, who also should not be burdenous to the Inhabitants, nor yet hinder their trafficke, but preserve the Citie from all troubles, and inconueniences, and assure the merchaunt, againe to sette vpp, and
place

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place the accustomed trade of merchandise.

For the seconde, hee aunswareth, that it is proupyded for, by the Proclamation already set forth: Agreeyng to all the rest, as it were by waye of tolleracion, vntill suche tyme as his Maestie, by the aduise of the generall Estates shall otherwise ordeyne, which determination euerie man shall be bounde to follow.

And his Excellency willet them, forthwith to giue knowledge to those of y^e religion of al these poynts, comanding the to hold them within the compasse before saide, Given at Antwerpe, the 30. of August. 1566.

From these propositions and aunswares, the Deputies culled out certaine Articles, whiche shoulde serue for a full resolution, which, his Excellencie hauing receiued, digested them in order as followeth.

Articles agreed vpon, and signed.

Articles digested
into forme
and order.

The ende that all troubles and discordes which haue fallen out within this Citie of Antwerpe, by reason of religion, might cease & be for ever stayed, and that all the Citizens & Inhabitauntes thereof might from henceforth liue soberlye and peaceablye in all loue and amitie together, and the negotiation or traffique bee brought againe vnto the olde trade, and this Citie be defended from all further inconueniences: So it is, that after diuers communications and deliberations heereuppon had, and holden, and diuers poyntes and Articles propounded both on the one side and on the other, my Lorde the Prince of Orange, Vicount of this Citie, and the appoynted Gouvernour thereof, in his Maesties name, and the right woorthie the Scowte or Marshall, Boroughmaisters, and Sheriffes of the same, haue, as it were by way of tolleracion, vntill suche time as his Maestie, with the aduise of the Generall Estates of these lowe Countries, shalbee able otherwise to dispose and ordeyne, agreed with those of the new Religion, and permitted and tolerated these poyntes and Articles hereafter written: which, they of the Religion haue also promised, and are

are bounde to keepe and follow.

1 First of all, they maye no way hinder nor trouble the Seruice, Sermons, nor other Church matters, nor yet any of the Catholique religio, nor cause them to be hindered, troubled, nor indamaged by any manner of meanes soeuer.

2 Also, they maye not occupie, nor yet keepe their Sermons, or other exercises of their religion, in anye Churches, Monasteries, or other hallowed places, but onely in some of the thre places vndernamed: to witte, in the voyde or waste grounde of Paule van Gamer in the horse market: In the voyde or waste grounde of Maister Lyckercke in Wapper, or in the whiting garden, in the Hospitall medowes, harde by the Garden of the Archers and Arbalisters: Provided alwayes, that if they canne gette none of these places aforesaide, that then by the consent of his Excellencye, they maye, in steede of them, vse some other places, of the like bignesse and scituation, and for so many, vse those places in the newe Towne, whiche heretofore they were wonted to haue their Sermons in.

3 At which places they may all at one time preach on the Sunday, and vppon festiuall or holie dayes, but vppon none other daies except it be on the Wednesday, when there falleth not an holy daye in that weeke. And they may haue for euerie preaching place a Minister, and another to be ioyned with him, who by reason of sicknes, absence, or other let, may supply the others place, as an assistaunt.

4 Also, that all these Preachers and Ministers, muste bee borne in the Countries Subiecte to his Maiestie, or els bee Citizens of some good Citie or Towne of those lowe Countries. And thereuppon shall sweare vnto his Excellencye, or in his absence, to the Magistrate, to bee obedient and faithfull in all matters of pollicie, so longe as they shal remayne there.

5 They may not haue, nor beare, to, nor fro, vnto the Sermons, and of assemblie, any Harquebusses, Pistolles, Holbardes, or other forbidden weapons: Alwayes provided, that no manne shall trouble anye of them for wearing either sword or dagger.

6 Item,

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6 Item, they shall in all matters of pollicie bee obedient vnto the Superiours and Magistrates, and bee contributories to all the common charges of the Citie, euen as all the reste of the Inhabitauntes, and imploye them selues for the conseruation, tranquillitie, and common weale therof, as wel as they.

7 Item, that all Preachers of what Religion soeuer they bee, shall take heede howe they utter anye despitesfull railing, and iniurious wordes, and generally all seditious speeches, whether it be against anhority or the magistrate, or against those of another religion: Alwaies prouided, that any thing concerning doctrine, or the exercise of religion, & y reprehending of manners, and disordered kind of life, shall not be taken for seditious wordes.

8 Item, that his Excellencie may depute any Magistrate to be present at the choosing of any ministers, Elders, or deacons of their Churches, or at their meetings together for y handling of any other cause concerning their Religion, to y end he might alwaies make a true and faithfull repozte both to his Excellency and to the Magistrate.

9 Item, that one of them maye not mocke another, neyther yet hinder, hurte, nor doe violence one to another anye manner of way, by reason of the diuersitie of Religion, but shal be bound to helpe one another if so be any violence or wrong be done vnto them.

10 Item, that no person whatsoeuer he be, of the one religion or the other, may stop the law, either in apprehending, punishing, or executing of Churchrobbers, or offenders, either yet in any other cause whatsoeuer, but that the malefactorz may bee dealt withall according to iustice.

11 Item, that none may sing in the Streets where any people shall assemble, or may be assembled.

12 Item, that his excellency & the Magistrate of this citie, shal not onely protect those of the religion, but also generally all the inhabitants of this citie, liuing in obedience, peace, and politike vnitie, without regard whether they be of the Catholike or of this religion.

13 All which poynts & articles the ministers & preachers of their

their Religion,shal in al their sermons declare againe vnto the people & admonish them with al speed to order and behaue themselves accordingly.

14 Item, that all the poyntes heeretofore mentioned,shal as it were by way of colleration, bee inuiolably obserued and kepte, vntill suche time, as his Maiesty with the aduise of the generall estates of this countrey, haue otherwise ordeined, vnto the whiche ordinaunce those of the religion from thencefoorth shalbe subiect, and from this present promise to folow and keepe, Alwaies provided, that if herein any thing shalbee established, contrary to their conscience and religion, that in this case, there shalbe a fit time agreed vpon that they may without impeachmēt, freely get them away out of the countrey, with their goods, wherther soeuer they please.

15 Item, that the Preachers, ministers, elders, deacons, and other seruicours in their Churches, with a good number of the best qualified in their Religion, shal agree to these articles, & promise to keepe & cause the to be kept to the vttermost of their power, & subscribe also for the greater assuraunce of this present act: Provided alwayes, that they shall not by reason of this subscribing in time to come, be suspected, troubled nor hunted after. And his Excellencie with a secretary in the name of the Magistrate of this citie, shall subscribe also for their safetie vnto this present Acte, of whiche, two shall bee expedient, the one for his Excellency and the Magistrate, and the other for those of the religion.

In witnes wherof, this present act is concluded vpon and subscribed as aforesaid the 12. of September 1566. And signed by William of Nassau, & Mandato commissorum.

Polites.

AND although there were two or three poyntes heerein, whiche the Deputies woulde gladlye haue altered, or at the leaste haue hadde them more playnely sette downe, yet neuertheless beeving satisfied with the woordes of his Excellencies owne mouth, this accorde was signed by the Ministers and

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and Gouvernoys of the Church, with a good number of the beste qualified, and other members thereof.

The first day of the said conference and communication with his Excellencie, the saide deputies hauing vnderstood of y^e flaunders that they of the religion were still moze and moze charged with, and that the chiefe Officers made shew to beleue them: First, that the people had beene excited and stirred by the Sermons to pull downe Idolles, as hauing beene taught to thrust out all Idolles, not onelie from their heartes, but from their eyes also, and not onely to breake them in peeces, but also to burne them to ashes, that the memorie of them might cleane bee quenched out. Moreouer, that the sayde Suppliantes had hyred certaine people to pull downe the Images.

Item, that the ministers had also taught, that they were no moze bounde to paye the Assyses or custome, or at the least not so greate as heretofore they had done. Item, that they had concluded to take the Towne house, chaunge the Magistrate, and expulse all such out of the citie as were not of their religion.

Item, that they should bragge that they would not once suffer any exercise of the Romish religion in this Citie: and many such other like leasings: whereupon they were inforced for the purging and iustifying of them selues, to exhibite a supplication as well to his Excellencie, as also to the Magistrate and Counsell of the Citie of Antwerpe: conteyning, ouer and beside the saide Justification, a graunt of certayne Churches built within the sayde Citie, so greate and so manye, as shoulde bee thought necessarie for the greatnesse and multitude of the people.

Moreouer, the saide Suplicants of the religion, prayed to haue a good answere vnto their supplication, & of euery act, with a copie therof, & forthwith a graunt that they might cause the same to bee imprinted, for the benefite, vniety, and quiet of the citie of Antwerpe.

Now, there was no answere vnto their supplication, because the chiefe Officers presupposed that the Articles whiche were ready to be concluded vpon, shoulde bee a sufficient prouiso for the

the whole. And as for that poynt of þ burping of the dead, it was sayde unto them, that they might bury them in þ publique churchyardes of the Citie.

There was also at that time published the abolition of the Spanishe Inquisition, and commissions, in manner and forme as followeth.

A Proclamation proclaymed and set foorth by Syr Iohn of Imersele knight, Lorde of Bowdrie, the Scoute or Marshall, the Boroughmaisters, Sheriffes, and Councell of the Citie of Antwerpe: the last of August,

1566.

BE it knowen unto all men on the behalfe of my Lorde the Prince of Orange, as gouernor and chiefe of this Citie of Antwerpe, appointed thereto by his maiestie, and also on the behalfe of the Lordes of the saide citie: First, that our soueraigne Lorde the kings most excellent maiestie, according to his greate clemencie, and naturall goodnes, & tender affection, hauing had regard and consideration to and of the quiet, benefit, and prosperitie of the lowe countries his true and lawfull inheritance, hath expressely agreed, declared, and consented, that the inhabitants and citizens of this citie, and of all the lowe countries, shall bee deliuered and for euer continue acquitted, discharged, and vtterly discharged of the Inquisition, which not manie monethes since hath beene so muche spoken of, and muttered at, througħ out at the sayde lowe Countreys: And hencefoorth shall bee, and so still continue franke and free, vtterly discharged of all the ordinances and Commissions sette downe and graunted about the cause of heresies, and controuersies in religion, which haue any way heretofore been had and published: And that for, and vntill such time, as by newe and generall Commissions (which by his Maiestie with the aduise of the generall Estates of the said countreys, about the state of religion shall bee ordeyned and established) it bee generally otherwise purueyed for, and ordeyned, according to which from that tyme forwarde euery man oughte to behaue and gouerne himselfe, and whereon they must relie, and be assured.

The abolishing
of the inquisition
and commissions.

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A Grapheus.

AND to the ende, that they of either the religion, might bee more assured and rest the quietlier, there was another edict published, by which the chiefe Magistrates tooke vppon them to protect both the one and the other, forbidding eyther of them not to seeke to wronge and deale cruelly one with another, as by the tenure hereof ensuing may appeare.

A Proclamation made and sette forth before the Towne howse by the Lorde Diericke Vander Meeren, vnder the Scowte or Marshall, the Boroughmaisters, and the Sheriffes and counsell of the citie of Antwerpe, the 3. of September. 1566.

TH the end that all troubles and diuisions within this Citie might be preuented & withstood, & therewithall in like sort, that the negotiation and trafficke might be restored to his olde trade, and that euery man might vnderstand & knowe, that hence forth hee may assuredly without any doubt or feare of empeachment or disturbance, most peaceably exercise his negotiation, and so enioynes the exercise of his religion, Bee it knowne, and by my Lorde the Prince of Orange, &c. The appointed gouernour in the name of his maiestie, and likewise of the chiefe officers of the citie it is commaunded.

First. That no man whatsoeuer hee bee, doe take in hande or vppon him, to empeache or trouble the seruice of the Churches, Monasteries, and of the olde Catholike Religion, neyther yet mislay or wronge any, eyther in woorde or deede, in whatsoeuer matter, vpon payne of the losse both of bodie and goodes, or otherwile to bee punished by arbytrement according to the merite of the facte, for an example to all others.

Item. That no man of what Estate and condition soeuer hee bee, shall empeach nor trouble the exercise of the other religion at this present permitted by waye of tolleracion, neyther ill, or wronge anye man anye kinde of way.

eyther in worde, or deede for the same, vpon the like payne and punishment.

Duer and besides, declaring that his Excellencie and the Citie, doe take in hande to protect and saue harmelesse all the inhabitauntes and dwellers of the same in general, without respect whether they bee of the Catholike, or of the other religion, which as before is suffered by way of tolleration, and hath alredie been treated of and agreed vpon: with condition notwithstanding that euery man shall liue peaceable, and quietly, and obediently to the Magistrat in all matters of policie, without charging, hunting after, and molesting anye man eyther of the one religion or the other, for the exercise of the same.

Wee enioyne also and commaunde euery inhabitaunt, of which of the sayde religions soeuer bee, so to acquite and gouerne him selfe, that with all his power hee ayde, succoure, and defende euery one, althoughe hee bee of a sundrie Religion, agaynst all suche as woulde violently and cruelly vse him, as for the quiet of the publique weale, and assurance of the inhabitauntes is most requisite.

According to which, they of the newe religion haue promised to bee haue them selues, and followe the same, and with all their power and force ayde, and make it effectuell. All which is graunted by the way of tolleration, and vntill suche tyme as his Maiestie with the aduise of the generall Estates shall otherwise ordeine, according to which, euery man from thenceforth shalbe bounde to be ordered.

The Articulations whereof mention is made in the
ende of the Articles agreed
vpon.

ARTICULATIONS for the Citizens and inhabitauntes of the Citie of Antwerpe, whiche, my Lorde the Prince of Orange & Vicount of the sayde Citie, &c. As Collonnel and Gouvernour of the sayde, ordeined by his Maiestie, hath caused to be enrolled in the name and behalfe of the sayde Citie, with the Armour and weapon for the sauetie, garde, and sure defence thereof.

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for the easing of the Citizens and enhabitauntes, who hitherto haue been ouer charged with watch and warde.

1 First. They shall be sworne and promise to be good and faythfull vnto the kings Maiestie, as Duke of Brabant & Margues of the holy Empire, &c. And also vnto his excellencie, Count of this Citie, and well and faythfully serue this Citie, and as much as in them lieth keepe and conserue the same with all careful diligence: Likewise defende & conserue for his Maiesties seruice, the welfare, and publike quiet thereof, for the saffie of the citizens, marchants, and enhabitauntes of the said citie: and in like maner countergarde and looke wel to it, that no outrage, spoile, sacking, nor any other inconueniences come to passe therein.

2 Item. That they shall be obedient vnto his excellencie, as also to his Lieutenant, and to the Captaines, Seriaunts of hands, Diseners, and others that haue charge, committed or to be committed therunto by his excellencie, in whatsoeuer shall be set downe, or commanded vnto them for the assurance, quiet, and prosperitie of the said citie.

3 Item. That at al tide & tymes whensoever they shall be commaunded, they shall be bound to be readie furnished and armed with their ordinarie weapons at such gate, streete, or place, whereunto they shall be appointed.

4 Item. That when the alarme Bell, or Drumme, shall sounde to the alarme, euery man shall forthwith bee readie furnished with his armour and weapon, vnder his ensigne, although it be not then his ordinarie watche or warde, and therefore it is meete that euery man should at all times haue his armour and weapon readie at hande.

5 Item. That they shall be bounde to serue in proper person, without substituting any other in their steade.

6 Item. That they must not be absent or depart from their watche or warde where they are appointed, but at the ordinarie houre, or with the leaue of their Captaine.

7 Item. That during the time of the watch or warde, they shall not drinke nor sleepe, neither yet drinke any weapon, or discharge any pyssoll, nor be dronke when they come to watch or ward, neither shall they make any noise eyther by singing and hollowing, or otherwise.

8 Item.

8 Item. That they shall not refuse, nor shewe themselves disobedient to doe what so euer his Excellencie, the Captaynes, or Corporalles shall commaunde them, tending to his Maiesties seruice, the prosperitie of the sayde Citie, and the quiet of the inhabitauntes.

9 Provided alwayes, that they shall not bee employed against any in the cause of the religion, neither yet about the impeaching of any of the religious, here as yet for a time tolerated: But contrarywise, if so bee that any (by reason of the olde Catholique or of the other religion aforesayde) bee wronged, impeached, or assaulted, that they shall bee bounde to ayde, defende, and protecte them so farre forth as they are able.

10 Item. That they shall be bounde to abide to be appointed in such places, & in such number, & with demies or whole dizaines, or otherwise, whither they be more or fewer, and for such a time, as often, and at all times so euer as they shall be commaunded and enioyned.

11 Item. That they shalbe bounde to come to the musters as often as they shalbe commanded, without refusall.

12 At which musters, none of them shall cause him selfe to bee enrolled or bylled by any other name, but by the same that was giuen him at the Font, nor weare any other armour, nor take and carrie any other weapons but his owne, or suche, as that during the tyme of his seruice, hee will serue withall.

13 Item. That no man that hath once taken wages or pay, shall departe or forsake his seruice, without leaue or consent, nor yet goe from one Captayne to another without passeporte.

14 Item. That they shall not make any controuersie, dissention, and stirre amongst them selues, neither yet with any other, but especially, with the Archers of the Citie, or with the ordinarie towne watch or warde.

15 Item. That they shall not wrong, force, or threaten any Citizen, Marchant, nor inhabitant of the Citie, neyther Ecclesiasticall person or others, whither it be man or woman, or of what religion so euer hee or shee bee, nor doe them any scathe

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any manner of way.

16 Item. That they shall not make any common assembly, or alarme, without the consent and knowledge of his excellencie or his Lieutenant.

17 Item. That they shall not take in hande any quarell, neither yet contende one with another, nor with any els, for any cause soeuer, but make their Captaynes priuie of the harde dealing, who shal agree them, and if so be the case so standeth, as that they be not able to do it, that then his excellencie to be made priuie to the controuersie.

18 Item. They shalbe bound to suffer iustice to be ministered betweene and against suche as haue offended: and besides, they shalbe bounde to ayde and assist their prouost: Alwayes prouided that punishment of all offences and transgressions by them committed in the watch or ward, & which touch the said seruice, whereon neither life nor limme dependeth, shalbe at the discretion of his Excellencie, & the rest, & at the discretion of the scout or Marshall, the Borroughmasters, & Sherifes, vnder whose gouernment also, (in al matters els not concerning the said seruice) they shall remayne as all the rest of the Citizens

19 Duer and besides this, they shall be wholly bound, well and faithfullly to discharge them selues as becommeth good and loyall subiectes and Citizens of this Citie, as in deede they are of right bounde to do.

20 Neither shall they doe or attempt any thing which may any way be against the ioyfull entraunce, the ancient customes, priuiledges, & franchises of this Citie, or against y^e Citizens and inhabitaunces thereof, but ayde, defende, and keepe them, as much as is possible for men to do.

21 And if they vnderstande any thing tending to the hurte of his Maiesties seruice, or the disquieting of the Citie, they shall be bounde, forthwith to aduertise their Captaynes thereof, that they maye make reporte of the same to those to whome it shall appertayne.

22 All which they shall do, vpon paine and punishment, both of bodie, goodes, limmes, and banishment, or other arbitrary or pecuniarie correction, according to the demerite of the fact and circumstances thereof.

23 Unto all which articles, euery one of them when they shall bee enrolled shall bee bounde to sweare, and really promise vnto God almighty to keepe, and not crosse any maner of way, nor yet rebell against them vpon the payne and perill aforesaid.

Ouer and besides all this, the Lieutenant, Captaynes, Ensignes, Corporalles, Seriauntes of bandes, and diseners, shall sweare and promise, with all their power to holde and keepe so farreforth as they are able, all the Souldiers and Dizaines in good policie, obedience, and modestie, and shall effectually byng to passe whatsoeuer at any tyme shalbe commaunded them to do with their companions and dizaines: and likewise to countergaue and preuent all disorde, sedition, and ill will, which may arysse betweene the souldiers, and the Citizens. And if it so fall out, that they be not able to appease them, then immediatly to aduertise his Excellencie, his Lieutenaunt, or their Captayne, for redresse thereof.

And so it was subscribed,

By his Excellencies
appoynted.

De Penants.

At the very same tyme there was openly solde a printed picture, in which was pictured Commissions and letters from his Maestie, with the Inquisition, tyed and hanging at a Bowe that was bent: The Protestants or those of the religion going about to pull it downe with ropes.

The Pope and his shauelings labouring with might and mayne, to vpholde and maynteyne them.

The Protestantes crying out and saying, *Pour Placcars, et Inquisition casser, travaillons tous sans cesser.* To witte: for the ouerthrowing of these Commissions and this vile Inquisition, wee neuer cease traueilling till wee haue brought them all downe.

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The Pope on the other side answering and saying, *Per force et aussi conseil bon, Retenons les Placars et le Inquisition,* so witte: And wee for our partes, with all the force and counsaile wee can, will retayne and keepe them in despite of any man.

All these thinges aforesayde were done whilst my Lorde the Prince of Orange was at Antwerpe, but the pulling downe and breaking of the Images was the cause that the Catholikes yeelded more to the Protestantes, then they at the first intended.

For the feare of the rage and furie of the people, and the helpe of the Gentlemen Strangers strooke them to the verie heart: and besides, they knewe well enough that the kinges Maestie was a great distance off, to helpe them, wherefore they were enforced to behaue themselves accordingly as the tyme serued, and of necessitie, to make a vertue, in dispice of them, and of their great sorrowe and grieve.

The L. Regent
tolleateth the
sermons.

In the meane while, the Ladie Regent, by the counsaile of the Lordes of the Goulde Fleece, and others, graunted and permitted the Protestauntes to haue publique Sermons, promising to appoynte them some place without the Citie, for the exercise of their religion. Duer and besides, that the Inquisition, and seuerer Commissions shoulde from thence forth, bee abolished, so that no man shoulde any more be pursued, and hunted after, for his conscience: But yet vpon this condition, that the confedered Gentlemen, which tooke no parte, shoulde sweare, that they woulde procure the people to forsake and lay downe theyr armour and weapon, and that the Churches shoulde bee no more spoyled, nor any thing that shoulde bee prejudiciall vnto the Clergie men, or Catholikes.

To be short, that they should be ready to yeelde all obedience vnto his Maestie. Hereupon an accord was made in August 1566. Duer and besides this, the Regent had procured the most qualified Catholikes to bee sworne to the same, and confirmed by his Maesties commaundement, which was proclaymed in diuers places.

The noble men, for the performing of their promise and oth, wrote and declared to the Consistories, all those thynges which

which had been treated of, which was, that they should lay downe and leaue off their armour and weapon, and behaue themselves, as good and obedient subiects ought to doe, towards their pynners, for if they so did not, the matter would goe yll with them: whereupon, the people, to shew theiꝝ obedience, willingly leaſt off, and layd downe theiꝝ weapons.

During these troubles, king Philip being aduertised by his suborners, and flatterers, of the pulling downe, and breaking, of the images, was marueilously angry, & determined, in his owne person to come downe into the lowe countreyes with a mayne force for the auengyng of the contempt and misbehaviour committed and doone vnto his maiestie. But before hee had called together his councel at Madrid, to consult about the appeasing of the low countries, it was concluded that his maiestie should not goe thither, because that this fire, might otherwise, bee well enough quenched by force of armes, howbeit, as for the choosing of a generall that should execute the same, they were of sundrie opinions. For many were of the opinion, that the prince of Spaine Don Charles, his maiesties onely sonne and heire, should bee appointed generall, not onely for that that by right of nature it appertained vnto him, but also by reason of the good affection which the catholikes of the lowe countries beare hym, as beeyng theiꝝ naturall prince, and the onely sonne of the kyng theiꝝ Lorde, vnto whom they would sooner peelee theiꝝ obedience, and loue, then to any other. Some of them were loth to lay vpon this young prince so waightie a burden, and warlike commission, but saide, that the Duke of Medina Celi was a meete man for that purpose: Some others againe, gaue theiꝝ consent to the Duke of Alua, whereupon in the end, it was so determined. The young prince being aduertised of this resolution, was greatly greeued and despiced therewith, and for that cause conceaued a marueilous great hatred against the Duke of Alua, and other Lordes: which beeing once knowen together his good affection that hee had, to the lowe countries, was the cause of his death, as heereafter more at large shall bee declared.

Whiles they were about to make readie for this warre, his maiestie wrote to the ladie Regent, and to other chiefe Lords

The Duke of Alua appointed to be generall of the armie for Flaunders.

The kings letters vnto the ladie Regent

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of the lowe countries, very sharpe letters, expresse signifying how angry and greeued he was at the insolencies passed, commanding in flat wordes, a restauration of the commissions vnto their former strength, and accustomed course, with many other things hereafter following.

Hereupon, the confederates might easily consider, & gather, to what ende this preparation of warre and pfull threates of his maiestie tended, but the Catholikes especially, who with theyr craftie clayning and subtill dawbing might the easilier deceiue the Regent, feigned that they wold rather become newters, or els if they did any thing, that they would after a sort take part with her excellencie (as they saide) for the common wealth, and yet it was well enough perceiued, that they shewed them selues secrete enemies, both to the Inquisition, and also to the Spaniards: howbeit, because they hoped to obtaine the good will and moderation, whiche the Regent on the behalfe of her brother, had giuen the to vnderstand, they to the end, they would not haue their enterprises to bee discouered nor hindered, fell to plaine dissembling. But when both the confederates and catholikes, vnderstoode of the rumoz of the setting forwarde of the Spanishe warres, eyther partie beganne to bestyre hym, and make shift for himselve: yea, and some of the Protestants, who before had refused and forsaken the gentle offer and ayde of strange captaines and souldiers, because they would strengthen them selues the better, confirmed with them their confederacie, and thereupon caused men to bee leuied who had taken and possessed certaine townes, makyng thereby the Romanistes practises of none effect, &c.

Now, because the spoyle of the Churches greatly displeased the Catholikes, they also leuied a great number of men of war, that they might bee auenged of the downe pullers and breakers of theyr Images, punishyng many in diuers places, without being any thing at all gainsaid by any of the rest of the protestants. For the third part of the confederates, haunted no whit any of the assemblies, but interdicting also y^e preachings, imprisoned as many as continued constant in the exercise of religion, rechristening the infants, and remarrying those persons, which by the ministers

sters had been before baptised and married : and besides, when they had caused the preachings to cease, they hunted and chased the ministers, and gaue them vp vnto the Inquisition, and to all the rest of the old ordinances. Whereupon, many were forced to get them away into other countries, and cities, where the exercise of the religion had free course : amongst which, Valencia was the most famous.

For this cause, the Lady Regent had required and commanded the Valencians to take in a garrison : to wit, sixe ensignes of footemen, and foure troupes or companies of horsemen, whiche, Monsieur de Noircarmes, the Marques of Bergues lieutenent Gouvernour of Henault had brought. But the Valencians flatly refused them the 22. of September, the very selfe same yeere, trusting to the strength of their citie, and the ayde of certaine french which were with them.

Valencia, is the second chiefe citie of Henault, situate in a fruitfull soyle, & full of moysture by reason of two riuers which streame downe thither, and there meete, the greater of which is called y Escante, whose spring head commeth frō the countrie of Vermand out of the East mountaines, and running downe by Cambray, and the territories thereof, taketh his couse by Valencia, & so vnto Conde, where the Riuer called the Hayne, where of all the countrie is named, falleth into Escant : The whiche, separating and diuiding Artoys from Henault, runneth down by Tournay in fFlaunders, euen vnto Gand, where it ioyneeth with Lys, Which descendeth from Artoys, and so parting it selfe into diuers armes, runneth by Deuremond, and Antwerp, and lastly disgorgeth it selfe into the Ocean Sea. Moreouer, Valencia is a fayre citie, well fenced with rampiers, and ditches: But the chiefest commoditie it hath, is, that they may drown all the whole Champion Countrie thereabout, through the opening of certain sluices or flood gates made for the same purpose, for the stopping of al such as intended to come neere the Towne.ouer and besides this, it is a citie well furnished with all kindes of merchandise, seruyng for the trade and traffique of the French, and lowe countrie men.

The situation
of Valencia.

When

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Valencia refuseth a garrison.

When the Ladie Regent had vnderstood of this refusall, shee againe commanded to haue the gates to be set open, to take in a garrison, which she had sent thither by letters, and withall, the Duke of Arescote and the Counte Egmont to perswade them. But when they coulde by no meanes bring to passe their purpose, the Valencians were taken for his maiesties enemies, and so declared and proclaimed in many places, which terrified and feared the other cities. Neuerthelesse, at the last the said lords had so perswaded them, as that they agreed to receiue a garrison, although against thei priuileges: but because they would gladly bee discharged of them, they were contented to giue them a summe of money vpon condition, that they would agree to certaine articles. Howbeit, the catholikes woulde in no wise accept thereof: saying, that it was against all reason, that any subiect shoulde prescribe lawes or articles vnto his Lord: wherfore, they straitly besieged the citie, and made their trenches, and enuironed them both on foote and horse backe. In this mean while Monsieur de Noircarmes had gotten a litle village somewhat neere thereto, called Syz Amand, and had schooled and appointed them what they should doe: and afterwarde in December 1566. hee came before Valencia with his whole campe. The besiegeants likewise had prepared to defend themselves against the assaultes and attempts of the catholikes, and had written to the cities confedered, beseeching their aide, but especially to the gentlemen confedered, because they would gladly haue been assisted by them, seeing that by their incitation and encouragement, they had taken in hand that warre.

The nobilitie woulde at no hand haue to doe with that cause, but som of the common people gathered themselves together in low Flanders, to rayse a campe, but forsomuch as they were not prouided of an expert captain for the wars, they in Steele of marching against the enemy, made warre with the Priests and Churches, and by that meane procured the losse of Valencia, and were the cause of thei owne destruction. For when the gouernour of Doway and Orchies was aduertised of this assembly, he sent against them both footemen & horsemen, to charge them in the reare ward. Which thing whē they of Tournay vnderstood, they put themselves in armes, for the ayding of the Valencians, &

reine.

remouing of the siege. The gouernour of Doway had all that night gotten his people together, & sent them into the champion countrey, so y^e about 6. of the clocke in y^e morning there were in Armes, 3. hundred Harquebuziers & an hundred horses, forbidding them not to fight vntill such teime as Monsieur de Noircarmes were come with his tenne Ensignes of footemen, & an hundred horse: who as soone as they were come violently & suddenly charged the men of warre of the Protestantes, and put them to the foyle, so that the third parte of them lay dead in the place, and the rest were saued by their fast running into Tournay: The enimie pursuing of them, came before the Citie with niene ensignes, and had them let them in, wherupon they rendred the towne, where they hounge by certeyne ministers, and the best, or most qualified Protestantes.

They of Tournay discomfited.

When Noircarmes saw that the Valencians were no whit discomfited with the ouerthrowe of their neighbours, and that they continued full and whole, stiffe and constaunt in their purpose, hee rettyred from Tournay to Valencia, and skirmished with those of the saide Citie, where immediatly were slaine, an hundred and threescore of the Valencians: wherefore the sayde Noircarmes sent as well to Doway and Tournay, as to other Cities thereabout, for as much Artillery as was possiblye to be had: and after he had made his trenches, and planted his artillery or great shot, he summoned Valencia with the cannon, so that they of the sayd Citie, considering, that the Noble men and Gentlemen had forsaken them, cooke counsell, and after some debates about the Regentes letters, y^e Catholikes yeelded vp the citie against the myndes of the French, and many others, the 24. of Marche 1567. Howbeit they kept not their promise whiche they had made them. For, Monsieur de Noircarmes keeping the gates shut for certaine dayes, committed that while, many cruell deeds for the satysfying of his bloudy minde, for, he hounge & slew many French ministers, and other very well qualified Protestantes, confisked their goods, abolished preaching, & restored the Ecclesiastical state. This wicked deed, & cruel execution, maruelously astonished the rest of the cities, insomuch that Cambresis was forsaken, Maltrecht rendred, and the rest shortly after, receiued Catholike garrisons.

A skirmish betwene Noircarmes & the Valencians.

Valencia yeelded vp.

The tyranny of Noircarmes.

While

A notable hystorie of the ciuill

A Disputation
at Antwerpe.

While these things aboue said thus houg, Mathias Flacus Illiricus, A man well knowne, Spangenberg, and other Ministers of the confession of Ausbough arriued at Antwerpe, and prouoked the ministers of the reformed Religion to dispute, bypon the point of the presence of Christ Iesus his bodie in the Supper, truely a matter of ouer greate waight, for so an euill fauoured vsfite tyme. Either partie had published and pynted the confession of their faith. This controuer, sie not well vnderstood, is as yet vnderided, and at that time nothing was concluded vpon, wherefore the Germanye Doctors a few dayes after went from Antwerpe, without doyng of anye thing.

At this very time the Protestantes, considering the greate prosperitie and aduancement of the Catholikes, and their owne declining and abasing: (and besides the Regent persisting in following the Protestants, made small account of her promises made to the nobility, nor yet of her ordinaunces by her published and proclaymed, to wit, that the Inquisition shoulde cease, and publique preaching bee graunted, but layed all the blame bypon his Maiestie,) exhibited the 27. of October, 1566. A supplication vnto my Lorde the Count of Hoogstrate Gouvernour, &c. And to the Lords of the citie of Antwerpe, the tenure whereof ensueth.

To the King.

I All humble and most obedient wise, shewe vnto your Maiestie your faithfull vassalles and true Subiectes of all the lowe Countries: That, whereas they haue alwayes employed their bodies and goodes, and all other dueties in your Highnesse seruice, as well in your absence as in your presence, neuer refusing to paye, anie customes, Impostes, tollages, nor other extraordinary subsidies, for your Maiesties conseruation, but still bearing and continuing the same their good willes and feruent affections towarde you, and desiring to increase & surpasse daylie more and more therein, doe likewise trust that they shal perceiue, & find by experience such your Ma. great fauour and clemency, as heeretofore they haue felt by singuler
and

and notable tokens and testimonies. For, although your maiestie hath beene alwayes counselled and induced, to pursue by most cruell death, and losse of goods, as many as will not in all points receiue the doctrine of the Romishe Church, as also hath of late beene propounded and set forth by the counsell of Trent, thereby to maintaine the inquisition, where it was first planted, and to bring it into other places, where it was neuer before receiued, being a deuise wholly against the liberties and priuileges of your lowe countries hereabouts, and also your faithful subiects in them. Neuerthelesse so it is, that your maiestie, hauing vnderstood it by the supplication of the nobilitie hereabout, the estate of this low countrie, was well contented, not onely to cause the saide Inquisition to cease, but also according to your owne naturall clemencie and benignitie, to surcease the commissions proclaimed about the cause of religion, and the same to find out by the way of moderation and collerations, for the pleasing of your people: for the which we haue to render thanks vnto our good God, and to attend and looke for all fauour and grace at your maiesties hands.

Now, the people hauing been as it were a long time brought into slauerie, by keeping of the said commissions, and yet hauing secretely very well profited in the true knowledge of their saluation, as well by reading of the holy Scriptures inspired by God, as also by the teaching and exhorting of certaine good and godly preachers, well instructed both in diuinitie and humanitie, being moued by the continuall slaunders and false accusations of some euill willers, who neuer ceased to cause them to bee suspected of theyr religion, knewe not, nor could not any longer hyde it: and therefore for the shutting vp of the mouthes of all Backbiters and slaundersers, and the satisfiing and contenting of themselves by shewing theyr owne zeale and feruencie, they went to the publike exercises of the said religion, to the end euery man might know, what the religion was, which they before so secretely vsed amongst themselves, which being done, there met such great numbers of men so well qualified at the assemblies and preachings, as that they could hardly bee counted, and the matter more hardly bee beleued of those, that were not
present

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present at the doyng and sight there of : and besides, the multitude still dayly so increased as that it passed all mans vnderstanding. But although the mynisters in their Sermons greatly trauelled in exhorting the people to all modestie, and dutiful reuerence and obedience vnto the magistrate, and in preaching, namely, against idolatry, admonished them to containe themselves within the boundes of their vocation, without vsurping of the saide magistrates office, by thrusting themselves forward to the pulling downe of Images and such like things : yet it so fell out, as that certaine companies of people, carried with an ouer hoat and indiscrete zeale, amongst whom were some dissolute and wicked persons, who looked after nothing but spoyling and pilfering, & accompanied with a multitude of womē, young yowes and children, gaue themselves to the pulling downe of the Images in the Churches, and such other like disorders, to our vnspeakle grieve, whereupon the magistrates euery where, were in such a fright and feare, because they doubted of more grievous inconueniences as that they did not onelie let them alone, but which is more, commanded the companies of Lueries or Brotherhoods in many places to take away the Images and ornaments of their aulters, whiche coulde not be done so hastily and confusedly, but that they must needs breake some of them. Which kinde of dealing, when some of the people sawe, they in like sort put thereto their helping hand, thinking it to be a thing both lawfull, allowed, and also commaunded by the magistrate to rype the Churches of them all . Wherefore, it is so farre of that they were neither at the first, nor yet afterwarde stirred by thereto by the Sermons, as that contrariwise the Preachers, and such as haue the gouernment of the Church, as muche as in them lay, trauelled to stay them, neuer hauing commaunded any such act to bee doone, nor yet knowing thereof before, eyther els allowyng of it after, as by many reasons may wel bee verified, and also nannely appeare by the testimonie of a very great number of prysoners, who for the same cause haue bene miserably tormented. Which thing neuerthelesse wee haue to our greate grieve vnderstood, that these two points, to wit, The preachings & breaking of Images, which notwithstanding haue no waye bene any furtherance, but altogether quite and cleane againste them,

the, having therewith no communite at all, haue been so rejoyced of vnto your maiestie, as that you being thereat greatly offended, were fully determined to come hyther with force of armes, for the indifferent rooting out both of the one and the other. Which thing considered, wee haue thought it our duetie most humbly to beseech your maiestie, that it would please you mosse certainly thinke, that the religion beeing imprinted in the heartes and mindes of men, into the which no threathninges nor outwarde forces can any way enter or pearse, considering, that sith the point standeth vpon the saluation or condemnation of theyr soules, it is not so easie a matter to pluck away by force of armes, as by that means, to cause some weak soules to dissemble the same, and thereby, in time make them become people without religion, and very Libertines, and Atheists, at whose hands, is neyther fidelitie nor yet loyaltie of conscience, to be looked for. And withall that the saying of Gamaliel may well be weighed, That if it bee of God, it cannot bee overthrowne: and therefore an hard and dangerous matter to make warre against him. And that which is more, when your maiestie shall see into the chiefe pointes of the enterprises, that haue bene put into your head, by suche, as eyther through ignorance, by theyr particular affections, or for feare haue giuen you that counsell, that none other thing will followe nor come thereon, but an irrecoverable ruine and destruction of your so flourishing lowe Countries, and so necessary for the conseruation of your mightinesse, and the increasing of the Princes your neighbours, who beeynge enriched with the spoyle of these Countries, may thereby bee strengthened to make warre against you.

And therefore wee your most humble bassals and faithfull seruantes, desirynge alwayes to liue and dye vnder your Maiesties obedience, and to aduance the mightinesse thereof as muche as in vs lyeth both with our bodies and goods, throughtly considering and waying all these circumstances, and beeyng perswaded that our humble and resonable requestes and supplications wyl take some place with your excellencie by reason of your naturall and wanted clemencie and benignitie: Beseeche you in the name of our Lorde Iesus Christe, to graunte

that such as cannot by any meanes lyke of the Romyshe
 doctrine and ceremonies, and yet for all that in al oþer things,
 are your very faithfull and obedient subiects, may fully and
 wholy haue such an assured libertie openly to meete in such pla-
 ces as your maiestie, and the Magistrates vnder you, shall please
 to assigne them, for the exercise of theyr religion, wherein they
 truly protest, as befoze God, that theyr full pretence and mea-
 nyng is, to beleue, lyue and dye, in the doctrine of the Pro-
 phetes and Apostles, contained within the olde and newe Te-
 stament, & summarily comprised in the Creede of the said Apo-
 stles, and of all Councels agreeing with the worde of GOD,
 submitting themselves besides, vnto whatsoever shall hereafter
 bee determined and ordeyned by a free and generall Councell:
 Where attending and looking for the same councell, which shal
 by the common consente of the Euangelike Churches both of
 Wygh and Lowe Germanie, France, Englands, and other quar-
 ters of Europe bee agreed vpon, they purpose to follow & keepe
 all such orders as shall generally bee set down by the said chur-
 ches. And to the end that this libertie and exercise being esta-
 blished and assured, the traffick (whereupon hangeth the whote
 wealth of this countrie) myght haue a more ample course, which
 as yet is, and still remaineth a thing very vncertaine by way of
 colleration, that it woulde please your maiestie, according to
 your wonted clemencie and benignitie, to confirme this benefite
 by an especial graunt and grace, ratified by the general estates
 of this Countrie, for the same purpose assembled. And as for
 your suppliants, it is so farre off, that by the meanes of this ly-
 bertie, they intend to alter the politike gouernement, as to chage
 the pynce, to refuse the paying of taxes, tollages, customes, tri-
 butes, &c. As their aduersaries openly slander them, that con-
 trariwise, in witness of theyr affection and loue towards you in
 bestowing of that they haue in your seruice, in acknowledging
 of your grace and fauour, and as a newe homage, in ratifying of
 theyr othe and fidelitie, and to graunt and acknowledge, that
 this priuilege of libertie, & exercise of theyr religiõ, whiche they
 requyre & loke for at your maiesties hands, encrease their hartes
 to dedicate and consecrate, both theyr bodies and goods in your
 seruice, and offer to giue the day of the graunt of the said fauour
 and

and grace, which you your selfe shall finde to be a sufficient cau-
 cion or pledge, ouer and besides the imposts, customes, and other
 extraordinary contributions, the summe of three millions of
 fflorins, where with they will furnishe you by a reasonable daye
 assigned towards the defraying of your maiesties ordinarie char-
 ges heere in these countries: promising further not to come into
 any of the Romish Churches, neither yet to trouble or let eyther
 by force, or otherwise, the seruice of theyr religion. Humblie
 beseeching your S. to take well in woorth this offer and
 small present at your humble subiects handes, proceeding from
 such heartes as desire nothing els but the establishment of Gods
 seruice and your maiesties, with the benefite, quiet, and prosperi-
 tie of these countries. And we trust, that your maiestie will not
 thinke it any strange thing for subiects, hauing recepued some
 notable fauour and rewarde from their naturall Prince, to ac-
 knowledge themselues thankfull for the same, according to theyr
 small abilitie by such a like meane. As also it is no new thyng
 for such grace and benefite to haue beene graunted vnto subiects
 as by the example of that mightie Emperour Alexander, surna-
 med Seuer, well appeareth, who beeing an Heathen Prince &
 an Idolater, gaue leaue to the Christians whom hee tooke to
 bee heretikes, to haue Churches in Rome, beyng the chiefe citie
 within his dominion: and also of the Emperour Constantine,
 surnamed Constantine the great: because that contrarie to the
 order of his Predecessors, hee licensed the Christians to haue
 certain places for theyr meetings, euen as the Heathen had theyr
 Temples. In doing whereof, he surpressed an infinite number
 of quarrels, staied the apparant effusion of blood, ruled his Em-
 pyre peaceably, and by mean of this accord, his authoritie prospe-
 red, and hee dayly encreased. And if any man shall put into your
 maiesties head, that it is another thing to suffer christians to haue
 the exercise of theyr religion, then heretikes, as it pleaseth some
 to esteeme of vs: first of all, our preachings, prayers, and exercise
 of religion, doe right well shewe vs to bee Christians, and nei-
 ther Heretikes, nor yet Idolaters: which we are readie more at
 large to verifie, if it shall please your maiestie to giue gentle and
 safe audience.

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Moreover, if so bee that we were as notable heretikes as the Iewes, Arrians, and Nouatians, yet the present example of the Pope, who, calling himselfe the head of the Church, and sayth he cannot erre, doeth not only maintaine the Iewes, the very professed and sworne enemies vnto our Lorde Iesus Christe, but also suffereth them to haue theyr Synagogues, and the exercise of theyr religion, within his own citie of Rome, and in diuers other places vnder his subiection. And besides all this, the examples of the Catholique and wel instructed Emperours, which haue graunted Churches to the Arrians and Nouatians, may bee a great quieting to your conscience: And chiefly your late father of most hygh and inuincible memory, the Emperour Charles the fifth, who by the aduise of the Estates of the Empire, graunted the like to the Protestants in Germanie, notwithstanding that hee tooke them to bee heretikes, as also the Frenche King not long sithence, hath doone vnto his subiects. All which doynges ought to quiet and content your maiestie to graunt vnto vs this grace, vntill suche tyme, as by the consent of all christendome wee might all agree in one and the selfe same religion, and manner of diuine seruice. By meane whereof, both your maiestie, and also these countries, shall without all doubt, receiue great blessing and prosperitie, for so much as, God vndoubtedly shall bee serued, through the auoyding of a very great, most apparant, and pitifull effusion of blood, and that your Countries shall be peaceably maintained, without beyng thrust out as a pray vnto your neere neighbors, & the merchaunts and inhabitants of the Countrie remaine in suche safetie, as that all suche, and many others as are gone out of the Countrie for the selfe same cause, shall haue occasion to resort thither agayne with theyr goods, tyles and trades.

Lastly, all these matters by this meane beeing brought to a quietnesse, and contentation both to one and other, the countries shall floreye more then euer they did, with an increase of your crowne and dignities, and all men shall bee so muche the more bound continually to pray vnto the Lorde, for the prosperitie and high estate of your maiestie.

Subscribed

Subscribed, by your maiesties humble subiectes, the Citizens and inhabitants of your Citie of Antwerpe, professing the Gospel, so farre foorth as they are therein permitted, for somuch as it toucheth and apperteineth vnto them as members of the supplyants in this behalfe.

This Supplication was exhibited by the handes of Marke Peres, with the assistance of Giles de Graue, Charles de Bombergue, Giles Vander Banderie, Francis Godin, Henrie Vander Broecke, Cornill de Bombergue, Thomas van Geer, Iohn Carlier, Nicholas de Vmier, & Nicholas Sellyn, as deputies, and in the name of the supplyants of the member of Antwerpe, vnto my Lorde the Count of Hoogstrate, gouernour for his maiestie, and to the right worshipfull the Burroughmasters and Shierifs of the saide Citie of Antwerp, assembled in synnall college of the same Citie, in the presences of the right worshipfull Margraue & Allemman, the 27. of October 1566, betwixt 12. and 1. in the afternoone.

When the Counte Hoogstrate had seene this supplication, hee sent it to the Ladie Regent, and to the counsell that were with her, that it might bee sent to the king with conuenient and meeete commendation, to the ende the same myght take good effect: A thyng so necessary (louing Reader) as thou in thy wisdom and discretion maiest iudge and vnderstand. But so soone as the Regent and Gouernours of the lowe Countries had seene the contents thereof, they thought it to bee but a proude and arrogant bragge of theyr riches and great treasure: euen to engender in the hearts of manie honorable personages, some sinister and lewde suspicion, as if the Protestants had made this supplication, to drawe vnto them thereby strange princes and great potentates, to the end they might haue aide and succour of souldiers.

Howbeit, notwithstanding all this, the people gaue not ouer to deuise & bethinke theselues of all synnall meanes possible they could, not only with the Dutches who was not to be intreated, but also with synnall nobilitie, who had promised (although they were in synnall

The supplication sent to the Ladie regent.

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same predicament and danger that the people was, as may appeare by the ende of this tragedie) to accomplish new promises, and to forsake theyr fayth, for the libertie of conscience, protesting notwithstanding that for the exercise of the religion, they would doe all possible ductie that might bee, for the obtayning thereof: But sith that shee had not giuen her promise, the subjects should bee founde guiltie of all the mischiefes that should come in the lowe countries about that cause. Wherefore the Lorde Henry Brederode, by the nobilitie appointed for that purpose, required the 15. of Februarie 1567, the Lady Dutches that hee might haue audience, albeit shee had forbidden him to come within the citie of Bruxelles: notwithstanding, he so behaued hym in his businesse, as that the supplication was deliuered vpon into her own hands: wherein was shewed to her highnes, that the people could no longer abide and suffer the great contempt and horrible persecutiō which the catholiks vsed towards them, and therfore had implored and lamentably besought the assistāce of the nobilitie, that by them they might obtaine the performace of that which was agreed vpon. And therefore seeing they sawe that no contract could take effect, but by the consent of both parties: and that the one party making default, the other had great reason to complaine: Duer and besides this, sith they were appointed vnto her highnes as pledges, and answerable for the Protestants, who at that present by reason of the catholikes breaches of promise, they found themselves greatly greeued: they could do no lesse then speake vnto her, that their contracte and promises might be sure & sound, seeing y she seemed by maner of an ordinari way to shake & make void the contracts, insomuch that it brought all the countries in an vproye & trouble, notwithstanding the great diligence & pain which they had taken, about the establishing of a good peace & publike vnitie, which, by reason of the merueilous lightnes of their enemies is spurned at: wherefore they beseech your highnes, to suffer the people to haue their preachings, and to surcease and abolish the new commissions, ordeyned against them: and withal likewise, that all the ministers and the rest of the religion which are nowe prisoners, may bee released and deliuered.

Moreouer, that all the men of warre which are, alredie and hereafter

The L. of Bre.
derode exhibi-
teth the suppli-
cation.

hereafter to be leuied aswell without, as within the countries, together, the garnisons in euery citie, be cast, and euery man licensed to retorne home to his house and abiding place: To the end the prouinces of the low countries, may bee gouerned after their own liberties and priuileges, and therfore do beseech your highnes to make them a short resolute answer thereto.

The 16. of Februarie 1567. the Ladie Regent answered the said supplication in maner and forme following. I cannot a little maruel, ne yet thinke what noble men, or people these are, which exhibite vnto vs this supplication: seeing that many of the Lords confedered are contented, that not only the inquisition and commissions should bee obserued, but are also well pleased with the assurance that is promised them: and therfore doe daily offer vp vnto his maiestie their humble seruices and obediences: And she herselfe also thinketh it very strange, that they can perswade themselves, that it was euer her highnes wyl & meaning, to graunt vnto the exercise of the religion, seeing she had giuen it out sufficiently enough to be otherwise vnderstoode, by the article of the agreement: although it was contrary to y^e promise that some of the nobilitie made to the people, touching the saide exercise, which was plainely against her well and intent. And whereas the L. L. desired that all leuiyng of souldiers, shoulde cease, and be cast, so likewise ought they to bee contented to haue the auncient religion, without brynging in any new, whereunto she neuer agreed.

The Lady Regents answer vnto the supplication.

Quer and besides this, if they did well remember themselves, with what grudging and grieve of minde the preachings were in diuers places suffered, without taking of offences and giuing of blowes, they might easily ghesse, what small pleasure she tooke in fauouring the preachings, I will not speake of the rest of the exercises of the religion. But so much as concerned y^e liberty of conscience, I agreed onely to that, and graunted the same that was conteyned in their supplication, exhibited the fifth of Aprill the yeere last past, howbeit at that time, was no mention made of the cause of religion, which they contrary to theyr conscience and duetie suffered longe before to enter.

Wherefore I haue iuste occasion to be grieued, seeing they

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haue of their owne authoritie taken vpon them a matter prejudiciall and hurtfull vnto his maiestie.

The Regent re-
fecteth the de-
maund of the
Queenes.

And therefore had his maiestie also great reason to be moued and angry, when as hee was aduertised that his subjects vsed an other exercise of religion, and that, by theyr newe magistrates, they had inforced his maiesties officers, the doyng whereof they shoulde shortly feele: and for answer thereof, the Dutches vpd them to wit: That they had not obserued the conditions promised, and that these speeches are false and fained. For, many of the magistrates woulde neuer graunt to any such thing: and also that shee neuer went against her promises, although they had by her appointinēt imprisoned certain for their faults & offences. For, she was neuer of the minde to deliuer the Church robbers, and pullers downe and breakers of Images, especially suche as were put in prison sithence the argreemēt made with som of the nobles confedered.

Besides all this, they yet continue theyr preachinges in some Cities, where were neuer any before. Moreover, that they had taken certaine Churches, Monasteries, and Gentlemens houses, vpyuen out thence the knightes of the order, threatened the Cleargie men, preached in places where in tyme past were neuer any, yea, & that the people is styrrd by & encouraged by the confederates, and doe keepe certaine Cities and places belonging to his maiestie, bynging in Arillerie, and munition, depose and expulse his maiesties officers, are come in open field in armes, and haue not onely threatened all the Catholikes, but her highnes also.

And by the intercepting of letters, and the men of warre of Valencia, theyr purpose is founde out and knowen: to wit, if god had not prouided for it, euen to haue deprived his maiestie of all his countries. And as for their request about the casting of the souldiers that are leuied, and the commissions newly published, thereby their meaning is to take away the sword which GOD hath giuen vs.

Lastly, her highnes intent is, that the Lord of Brederode and his confederates, doe admonishe the people of theyr vpprope and rebellion, & giue them warning that they take heed they pul not his maiesties wpath more and more vpon their heads.

After

After that these complaints and answeres were made, euery man on either side provided for him selfe as much as was possible, but especially the Catholiques, who had the winde in the poupe, insomuche that the confederates feared them, by reason of the great number of souldiers that were leuied, and the kinge taking their part.

The Count of Megue was come with certaine ensignes of footemen, and companies of horsemen before the Towne of Bossleduke, who helde it for the confederates. After that, the sayde Count sent twelue ensignes about Utryght to surpise the souldiers and Towne of Vyane. And as manye as were taken ppysoners in all the Countreys, were condemned and punished as rebels and seditious persons, and the destroyers of the images were hanged, and their goodes confiscated and forsayted.

Bossleduke besieged by the count of Megue

Duer and besides, all those that were of the reformed religion, or that had frequented the Sermons, were holden for Rebels. Wherefore a great number of them conueied themselves away into straunge Countreys, and chiefly into Englande: But some were of courage, assembled themselves in companies.

In this meane while, the Lordes and Knightes of the golden Fleese, were newly swozne, to keepe inuiolably the Catholique fayth, amongest whome a secrete league was made by the counsell of the Count Egmont: who traueyling through the Cities of Flanders and Artois, where remainned as yet some Protestauntes, did his best to cause the Sermons to bee left: Euen as the Prince of Orange and the Count of Hoogstrate had done at Antwerpe: And about Antwerpe, the Lorde of Tolonse caused men of warre to be leuied in the name and behalfe of the Protestantes, who by reason of the scituation and commoditie of the place, assembled them selves at Oosterwell, a shorthe myle from Antwerpe.

The league of the knightes of the order

When the Dutchesse vnderstoode of this, shee sent the 13. of Marche, vnder the conduct of Hans de Grauedrossar of Brabant, foure hundred footemen, and fise hundred horse, which were piked out of the Garisons as well of Brabant as of Flaunders, who assailed and fought with the Protestantes, ouerthrew them and put them to flight.

There were slayne at that instant their Captayne Moun-

The Count de scomfited a part to flight

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sieur de Tolonse, and a great manie of others, some gotte into the Medowe ditches, thinking thereby to saue them selues; howbeit they were slayne with Harquebuze shotte, and some of them were burnt vp in the Barnes, and Houses of Oosterwell, without any resistance.

They tooke also a prisoner, who had a scrowle of the names of all those that subscribed to the Conspiracie, by which means they learned and came to the knowledge of manie secreete purposes, whereupon also ensued very much mischief. When the Protestantes of Antwerpe vnderstood of these dealings, they put themselues in armes, and passing by the Meire Bridge, marched on towards the Gate, that they might get out of the Citie to helpe their people. But my L. the P. of Orange who remayned stil in Antwerp, gouernour for his Maiestie, being here of aduertised, came vnto them, and admonished & counselled them to leaue off that enterpryse, saying, that it was impossible for the to ayde the souldiers of Oosterwell, and that if so be they issued out of the Towne, they should tast of the same sawce, and be laid on Gods deare earth (as we say) as the rest were, because they were too too weake to deale agaynst Horsemen. But if they woulde abyde in the towne, that theyr bodies and goods shoulde be saued, for there shoulde no man take any wronge in his presence.

A sedition and
tumult in Ant-
werpe.

Whiles the Prince was thus talking with the Citizens, the tumult encreased more and more. For both horsemen and footemen had taken and kept the Meire Bridge and the streete called Hauuetters street, where they continued in armes vntill it was after noone. During these troubles, the Prince had talked and agreed with the Magistrate and counsell of Antwerpe, that the thre companies of the souldiers, that were leuied for the safeguard of the Citie (as before hath been said) which were ranged in order of battayle in the market place, shoulde returne home, and the artillery be drawn to the ordinarie place. And although through the good and gentle woordes of the Prince of Orange, this tumult and trouble was suppressed, yet renued it agayne, by reason of the Italians, Spaniards, & Catholikes, together those of the religion had gotten the Market place on horsebacke: In-
somuch that they of the reformed religion, assembled themselves

a freshe. This sedition continued two dayes together, and euery man doubted that some mischieuous issue woulde thereon ensue. And as they were all very desirous to haue one, another by the eares, it was feared that there woulde bee a wonderfull great effusion of blood, and that the victors would sacke the vanquisheds houses: Insomuch that there was great mourning and weeping of women, and childzen in euery house.

But as eyther part kept their order of battell, the Prince and the Boroughmasters traueiled in all they might to agree them, and stayed the apparant effusion of blood, and dealt so earnestly betweene them, as that they appeased the parties as followeth.

*The tumultes
suppressed,*

1 First. That all the Citizens both of the one religion & of the other, shoulde be sworne to bee saythfull and loyall to the king, and to the Prince of Orange, for the common quiet and benefite of the citie of Antwerp, and with al their care and fidelitie stoutly keepe and defende the same.

2 The Gouvernours and Magistrates shall not receiue any men of warre into the Citie, without the common consent of the three members of the Citie.

3 All the priuiledges and liberties of the Citie of Antwerpe shall be obserued.

4 Item. That for the benefite of the common weale and the aduancing of the negociation or trade, the agreement made in September concerning the religion, shall abide in full strength without any fraude or guile whatsoeuer, vntill such time as his Maiestie with the aduise of the generall Estates shall otherwise haue appointed the same.

5 Item. That the beste qualified of eyther Religion shall promise not to molest one the other, but in any neede, assiste and ayde, one the other, to the vttermost of their power.

6 That for the better assuraunce, the keyes of the Citie shall be deliuered vp into the handes of the Prince of Orange, to shut and open the Gates thereof.

7 There shall be a good watch appointed, of Citiznes and souldiers of the Citie.

8 All thinges that are past, shall be forgiven and forgotten.

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9 Whoſoeuer he be that watcheth not, ſhall keep his houſe, and tende his buſineſſe.

10 Item. That for the greater ſafetie of the Citie, there ſhall bee leuied by the conſent of the three members, foure hundred Horſemen, and the Skelde to be guarded by the furniſhed Shippes of warre, if it ſhall ſeeme good to thoſe of the religion, and the Chieftaynes who by the common counſell are there to appoynted.

11 All the inhabitauntes of the Citie of Antwerpe, none excepted, ſhalbe bounde to helpe beare the charges, which ſhall bee made for the conſeruatiō of the Citie.

12 All the Artillery that is planted on the Bulwarkeſ, and on other places, ſhall bee deliuered by into the handes of the gouernours.

13 All the troubles with a common aſſiſtance ſhall be ſuppreſſed, for the common quiet of the Citie, and the ſeditious enpriſoned.

14 For the greater aſſuraunce, and obſeruing of the things and pointes aforeſayde: The Gouerneur, Magiſtrate, and other officers of the Citie, & all thoſe of the religion, ſhall by othe conſirme them ſelues to keepe them, without fraude or guile whatſoeuer.

15 The Captaynes and Souldiers which are now leuied, or ſhall hereafter to be leuied, ſhalbe retained vntil ſuch time as it be otherwiſe agreed vpon.

Laſtly. They of the religion beſeeche her Excellencie, that it woulde pleaſe her to bee alwayes myndeſfull for the welfare of the Citie, and haue a care for his Maieſties profit and the Cities.

Theſe Articles beeing accepted on eyther ſide, The Spaniards and Italians departed firſt, nexte the Gueſes (who at that tyme were ſo called) and laſt of all the Catholiques, and the laying all at once, their Armour and weapon aſide.

During theſe troubles, the Dutcheſſe had ſent one of the Secretaries of the priuie Counſell, to the Lorde of Brederode and to his conſortes, who lay in Holland in the Citie of Amſterdam, ſharply commanding them to departe the Citie and Countrey, by reaſon of the rebellion which they had committed
againſt

The L. of Bre.
derode taken for
a rebell.

against his Maiestie, if they would not bee pursued as enemies to the Countrey, and perturbors of the common weale.

The Lorde of Brederode gaue the Secretary none other answer but this: Thou art a man, not worthe any answer, &c.

The Antwerpians, after long resistance agreed with the Dutchesse, in manner and forme following: That the Sermons should cease, but none to be sifted or troubled, for the cause of Religion: And therefore for the very same purpose, it was ordeined, and proclaymed in Antwerpe the 7. of April, 1567. That all ministers should depart thence, and the preachings cease, That all Catholikes should be restored to their offices, and the first Commissions be obserued and kept: Alwayes provided, that no man should be sifted or troubled for the religion, vntill such time as his Maiestie by the aduise of the generall Estates, had otherwise appointed it.

This matter was accomplished after that the ministers were gone out of the Citie of Antwerpe, and their Churches were fast shutte and sealed vp. In this sort passed the matters of Flanders, Hollande, Zeland, and the rest of the Prouinces, and the persecution dayly encreased against such as had taken armes vpon them, broken downe the Images, and opposed themselves against the Edictes and Commissions.

The 18. of April. The Lady Regent entred into Antwerp, Count Mans-
fieldes garnison
neth Antwerpe. and with her the Count Mansfield, with 16. Ensignes of footmen, and five hundred horse: After that the Prince of Orange, was departed thence, which was the 11. of the sayde Moneth, with a great number of Citizens and inhabitants of the same Citie, in very great miserie, and with much weeping and wailing.

When the Lorde of Brederode had receyued the sharpe The L. of Bre-
derode speth
from Antwerpe
dame. message aforesayde, hee soone after in the deade of the night, departed the Countrey, with many noble men and other souldiers, whome the Count Megue pursued, but it was to small purpose.

The 5. of May the same yeere, there fell in Friselande into the Count Arenberge his handes, certayne of the nobilitie, that were betrayed by a Mariner, who in steede to carry them ouer the

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the seas, set them on the playne ground, where they were taken by Captayne Hulert, as a captayne of one of the companies of the Count Arenberge: The Lords of Battenbrough, and two Lords of Friselande, to witte, Herman Galama, and Sir Beyma, besides many other Gentlemen and Captaynes.

The tenth of May there entred into Amstelredame, certayne bandes of Souldiers, and a little before into Bolleduke and Wyane, of whiche the Duke Cricke of Brunswike was chief, and the Countrey of Utryght was deliuered to the Catholikes.

The Marques
of Bergues died
in Spayne.

The 21. of May, The Marques of Bergues (as it is said) was poisoned in Spayne, of whom wee haue before spoken. And the Marquesse his wife at another time, caused many Infantes to bee baptized, and many to be married agayne by the priestes, whome the ministers had before baptized and married: and suche as refused it muste forsake the Countrey, so that many menne and women were fayne to departe and goe into other Countreys.

The 24 of this Moneth by her highnesse appoyntment, was a Proclamation proclaymed in Antwerpe, muche more for the behoofe of the Catholiques, then for the Protestautes, wherein was declared, That as manye as woulde remayne in the Countrey shoulde from thence forth lyue peaceably and in quiet, and that all mynisters and suche as frequented Sermons, and had defaced the Images, shoulde lose both bodies and goodes, and that the Father, Pastor, or Lorde, shoulde answere for their children and seruantes.

And besides, that all Infantes which were baptized by the ministers, shoulde bee rebaptized by the Priestes after the maner of the Catholique Church. Also, that no Schoolemasters might teache, before such tyme as they were examined, and their bookes allowed. Moreouer, against Printers and Statyoners which solde bookes not allowed of, and agaynst all such officers as did permitte and suffer them. Against all such, as without his Maiesties knowledge, be collectors of money, vpon any of his subiectes. Against euery assembly, which is made agaynst the ordinance or consent of his Maiestie. Against all Straungers which depart not the Countrey within 24. houres, or bying not

accommittall from the place from whence they come, and the cause of their remayning there. Lastly, that no man shoulde withstande any Ecclesiasticall person.

The persecution dayly encreased, whiche caused the people to forsake the Countrey by thousands.

There were in one day at Courmay an hundred and sixe riche Merchantes and many others, spoyled of their goodes, and a great number put and deteyned in pryson, and there ill entreated.

The 18. of Iuly, The Dutchesse departed from Antwerpe to Bruxelles, and the Count. Mansfelde remayned there with his Garnison.

An addition of certayne thinges woorthie remembrance, which happened in diuers places and prouinces.

The 26. and 27. of June, 1566. The publique preaching of the syncere woorde of God beganne throughout all the low Countreys with the administration of the Sacraments in many Cities and Townes.

About the 16. and 17. of August the same yeere, The images in diuers cities and townes of the lowe Countreys were broken in peeces, and the alters and ornamentes of the Churches pulled downe and destroyed: The date of this yeere when this gear was done is to bee founde by the Capitall letters of this verse following,

Con Cio: sa Cra si Vit: VMidi CeCidere deastri.

The 6. of September, the same yeere, were in three parishe Churches of Leawarde, all the Alters pulled downe and the Images broken, by the appointment of the Magistrate.

The 8. of the sayde moneth, and the same yeere, were the first Sermons made in the chiefe parish Church of the Citie of Dordrebone by the ministers of the woorde of God, and that by the consent of the Magistrate. And the 15. of the sayd moneth was the supper of the Lorde, there administred,

The

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The 10. of September that yeere, were the Aulters of the franciscane Fryers in Groening pulled down by the leave of the Magistrate, and the Images broken.

The 25. of September the same yeere, was the first Stone of the foundation of the reformed Church in Antwerpe laide.

The same day, were they of the reformed Religion of the citie of Nymmegue in Gelderlande driven out of the same.

The 3. of October the same yeere, the Ministers of the woorde of G D D were forbidden at Bruxelles, vpon payne of hanging to preache within the said Citie, or in any other places there about. This was the first dispersing, sithe the publique preachings.

The 17. of October aforesaide, there were certayne insolent partes playd by certayne young persons, in our Ladye Church of Antwerpe: Whereupon the Lorde of Hooghstrate, Gouvernour at that time, beset the Church rounde about with souldiers, and entring into it tooke certayne prisoners, and the next day in the morning about the dawning, were sixe or seuen of them hanged in the market place.

The 10. of Januarie 1567. The ministers of the reformed religion were expelled the Citie of Leunwarden in Fryslande.

The 9. of March the same yeere, The tyrannous Papists troubled the preachings in the Towne of Andenarde, and slue five of the company with Harquebuzes. The same tyme also, the reformed Churches in Flanders were utterly despersed.

The 27. of Aprill the same yeere, were the last Sermons made in Amstelredame, when as the Lord of Brederode with the noble men and ministers departed the same Citie, and was the last dispersion of the Churches in the lowe Countreys.

The ende of the first booke.

The seconde Booke of the Histories of the

troubles in the low Countreys: In the beginning where-
of shall be described and set forth, the Inquisition of
Spaine and the execution thereof: and next after,
howe the banished Princes, Noble men, Gen-
tlemen, and others, assailed the low Coun-
treys both with horsemen and foote-
men good store, for the recouerie
of their enheritances and goods,
from which, they were dri-
uen away by the tyran-
nie of the Duke of
Alua.



I haue discoursed and set down in
the first booke the maner of the pas-
sing of all the dealings in the lowe
Countreys, before the D. of Alua
his comming: and also in what state
they stood at his arrivall: And be-
sides, howe all they of the reformed
religion, after the forbidding of the
exercise of preaching, were perse-
cuted and condemned by the In-

quisition.

But now, if thou wilt a while giue eare, I wil discover vnto thee
what maner a thing y^e same inquisition is, w^{ch} is more famous, then
rightly known, all Europe ouer. The declaration hereof woulde
be taken of many but for a fable and leasing, if the springhead and
first original thereof were not manifestly set forth: and to say tru-
ly, the gentle reader should take small pleasure, if we should but
onely speake of the bare name thereof, without telling what it is
in deede. Wherefore for the first point, I will declare vnto you
what it is, who are the iudges thereof, and the maner of the ad-
ministracion of it. And because there is not the least within these

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lowe Countreys, but knoweth that this Inquisition of Spayne hath been the very true originall of all the troubles: I will not forget to lay wide open, and set downe in writing the declaration and beginning thereof.

Spaine in olde
time gouerned
by petite kings

Spayne at the first was gouerned by meane kings, and afterwarde, the greatest part thereof was conquered by the Affricanes, who at last peaceably possessed it, and freed it from the bondage of the Romanes. After this the same Prouince was for a while gouerned by the Vandales and Alanes, whom the Gothes in the dayes of the Emperours Theodose, and Valentinian the thirde, expulssed out of Fraunce, who conquered many Lands and Countreys, destroying the Romaine Empire. At last these wandering people were by the ordinaunce of Boniface, gouernours in Affrica, who through the dealing of the other Affricane gouernours, were sent and called thereto. But as they were by Prince Gothes pursued on this side y sea, there passed ouer of men, women, and childzen, vnder the conduct of Gontram and Gensericke their kings and lordes, in the yeere 720. about eyght hundred thousande persons, to destroy and conquere Affricke. After this retraite of this foresaid Vandales, the Gothes, by the consent of the Emperours, gouerned the realme of Spayne, vntill the dayes of R. Rodrigue, who hauing violated and deflowred Cana, Count Julians daughter, was ruined & slayne, with all his kindred. For the same count Julian, in reuenge of the wrong and shame that was done him, sent the Vandales, Mores, Affricanes, and Sarazins, vnder the conduct of Musa their king, who hauing discomfited and slayne in many battels, mo then seuen hundred thousand men, conquered all Spayne, and deuided it into diuers kingdomes, to witte, Granade, Valence, Portugall, Toledo, Cordua, and many others. But the christians which came of Gothes, for the auoyding of the intollerable opprellions, and horrible furie of these nations, retyed and withdrew them selues into the Mountaynes of Arragon, who at that tyme were called the Cantabrians, and Asturians, and chose one named Pelagius to be their king. This Pelagius forsaking the name of a Gothe, beganne to make very great warres against the Mores, but hee had therein but euill successe.

Where

Wherefore, his successours required ayde and helpe of the French kinges, to witte of Pepin, Charlemeine, Lewis, and many others: so that in short tyme the Countreys that were lost, were conquered agayne, which were deuided into Prouinces, and after into kingdomes, giuing them the names of the fortresses and Townes, whereby they were conquered: to witte, of the Citie or Towne of Leon or Legion, the kingdome of Leon, of Tarracon, Arragon: of Barcinone, Barcelone: of the Castile which Pelagius built so soone as hee had wonne Leon, against the assaull of the Mores, the kingdome of Castile: and after all this, the kingdomes of Portugall, Nauarre, Galice, Toledo, Valence, Cordua and Granade, were erected: to wit, when the Mores, were enforced to become subiecte to Christian kings and Countreys, at suche tyme as euery one warred against them in his owne Countrey, the chiefe of which were the Arragonians and Castilians.

Nowe amongst all the Princes and Potentates that warred vpon the heathen and Infidelles, Ferdinando king of Arragon was the most famous. But after that the Countrey was out of the daunger of the Mores, by reason of the happie successe of the heathen warres, the sayde king Ferdinando suffered the Mores (as his predecessors had also done) to liue in quiet subiection and obedience, paying certayne tribute: Neuerthelesse their kinde of life was paynfull, especially amongst those that were freemen, and yet tollerable inough, seeing they were not troubled or molested for the cause of religion.

But as the thinges of this worlde neuer continue in one selfe and the same estate, and that the heartes of kinges and princes doe often chaunge, which causeth the subiectes for the present tyme to be ouercharged and burdened: There were some that perswaded the sayde king to chose certayne personnes, who shoulde haue an eye to their many superstitions and infidelities, to the ende the Mahometithe and Jewelhe religion, myght not any way derogate from the Catholique Religion.

Neuerthelesse wee see by experience, that oftentimes they whiche make pittes for others, fall them selues into them: For it is an harde matter to stumble against a stone: when

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as they will labour to reduce others to their opinion and fantasie. The king had appoynted for this purpose the most qualified men, following therein the order of his predecessors: And as a king careth not what payne he ordinarily taketh to excell all other kinges and Monarches in honour and fame: Euen so this king Ferdinand purposed and concluded to shewe him selfe a no lesse true and politike, then a warlike Christian: for, in leauing all his warlike affayres, he bestowed all his care about the aduancing of christian Religion, which is a most good kingly deede, and worthy great commendation: as also it is the parte and duetie of a king, who is the Image of the most excellent and Almighty king, to vse Justice and true mercie vnto his subiects. In doing whereof he hath been most happie and blessed, and is a signe of a true testimonie of that name which the Pope gaue vnto him and to his successors kings of Spaine, to wit, the title of most Catholike king: which Pope Gregory, the thirde of that name graunted the yere 1230. To Alonse king of Galice, who also hath giuen to all Spaniards the tytle of double Catholike.

Nowe, this thing was the cause that all the Mozes, Sarazins, and the Jewes them selues, who (as the Histories witnesse) sithens the sacking and destruction of Ierusalem, hauing by the appoyntment of the Emperour Titus continued in these Countreys, haue withstandinge them selues out of Spayne: because they were enforced to beleue & confesse Iesus Christ to be the sonne of God, and therefore forsooke they the Countrey, & sought out for themselves some other better place to dwell in: Insomuch that many thousandes haue gotten them away vnto the borders of Gibalter, and from thence into Affricque, & into diuers other places.

But the rest who like well of Spayne, continue there still, and both themselves and their children are baptised. Neuer theles, not long after, when the Spaniards perceiued, how greatly the opinion of the Godhead, whether it be good or bad, taking once impression in mens imaginations, preuayled, and what force it hath in mens harts, when it is once rooted therein, especially when in long processe of time it is successiuelly learned from one to another: for then they will become obstinate, and neuer
forget

forgoe it: Then was the exercise of the Jewish Religion forbidden them: and as they coulde not in trueth forgette and forgoe the sayde exercise, the Spaniardes fell to persecuting of them, and yet by a certayne kinde of Justice, meaning vtterly to roote them out: But it was impossible to roote out suche a people so obstinately bent and setteled in their Infidelitie.

A little before this, there was a newe order of Fryers instituted by a Spaniarde, bozne within the Dyocesse of Lexo-
 nie, to witte, in Caliroga, named Dominicke: whiche was
 called the order of the Iacopins, and authorized by Pope Hono-
 rius the thirde of that name, the yeere 1216. And this was
 brought in, by reason of a vision that appeared to him as hee lay
 a sleepe, by which was shewed him that the Church being sha-
 ken and readie to fall, was helde vp by Saint Dominicke
 onely, albeie Pope Innocente the thyrde his predecessor had
 no will to peeble, to the Institution and erection of that order of
 Fryers.

The beginning
 of the order of
 the Iacopins.

This Religious order is growen into suche credite, and so highly esteemed of, as that the king of Spaine, hath committed vnto the Iacopins all the affayres concerning conscience, and religion: and although there was before tyme a certayne forme and manner of Inquisition instituted, yet was it by this order of the Iacopins, whiche was thought to be the most holy of all the rest, confirmed and established.

For when they sawe that the Jewes, coulde neyther by the prayers, preachings, and admonitions of the Iacopins, bee conuerted: they then proceeded with them after a rigorous manner, and tooke vpon them the swoorde to force them to the religion, if so bee they woulde not depart and gette them out of the countrey.

This rodde or swoorde whereof I heere intende to speake, whiche the Iacopins vnto this present haue vsurped agaynst these poore people, hath been the cause, as it is sayde, that the Inquisition beganne in the dayes of King Ferdinand whilest hee raigned: Because that this manner and fourme of Inquisition is moze rigorous then the first was, agaynst those hereticks and heretiques, which they called Marans: which name is
 The originall
 of the marans.

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ler desire wishe to haue a newe religion, forsaking and reiersing the olde, whereupon the originall of the Marans was but a litle before that knowne. For, as the Jewes looked for the promised Messias, and had alwayes in their mouthes this name Maran, to witte, Our Lorde: Euen so the Jewes which had receyued the Christian fayth, sayde Maranathi, that is to say, The Lorde is come.

Shortly after, there arose a dissention and ennemieie amongst the Christians, to witte, betweene the true Christians, and those which denied that the sayde saupour was come, who were called Marans, and condemned for a pernicious and wicked sect.

This is the cause why the Jewes had alwayes that name in their mouthes, and that the Spaniards on the other side called them Apostates and heretiques, which woorde they also vsed against all suche as helde not the true doctrine of the Romishe Church.

And therefore the Iacopins were the authours of the Inquisition, who deuised a better forme thereof, then that, that was before. The king forthwith ratified this forme, and Pope Sextus the Genoway confirmed it. Without all doubt, the king had great occasion to doe this, for the rooting out of the wicked and reprobate doctrine of the Mahometistes and Jewes, who went about none other thing but to burden mens consciences, with the looking for the promised Messias: and besides, the Sarazins and Arabians, whiche the Mores had sent into Spayne, committed great mischiefe. Yea and the Jewes themselves were condemned by Pope Sextus the yeere 1475. Because they had crucified a childe of two peeres of age, cutting off his genitoies and ryght pappe, and afterwarde persed him vnto death, and then cast him into the riuer: which thing they did vpon palme Sunday, in despite and mockery of Iesus Christ, and to the dishonour and shame of all christians: which Jewes were punished and executed, after they had by torture, & sharp examination and prooffe, confessed the fact.

These Iacopins, by reason of the reputation whiche they had gotten by the setting vp of their newe order of Religion, called them selues, the defenders of the Christian doctrine and

Reli-

The Jewes put
to death a childe
of two peeres
of age.

Religion, not onely in Spayne, but also in Italy, and in other places of Christendome, where they had brought in, and planted their order. The first commission they had, was graunted them against the Jewes and Mahometists: but after, when their auctoritie encreased, and extended it selfe further, then they called themselves the Inquisitors of Heretikes, for the persecuting of all such, as would not obserue the ordinaunces and institutions of the Catholike religion. Nowe, that we might knowe what kynde of men these Inquisitors haue bene, Experience hath shewed vnto vs, to wit, such men as through their wickednes haue peruerterd all thinges. For these good Gentlemen proceede euen as they are affected against the accused, whiche is the cause that all men hate them: especially sithence the agreement whiche the Pope made betweene the foure orders of begging Fryers: And y^e cause of this controuersie was, by reason y^e the inquisitors had examined certain diuines of the order of the Carmelites vpon some articles of the faith, of which number was Iulian of Bresse in Lombardie, a very famous doctor and preacher, & another called Peter de Nouellans, in whose behalf Mantua hath writtē an excellent Apologie, containing foure bookes.

The Pope considering to what ende this partiall dealing and partaking would come, and that it would tende to the hurt and dishonour of either partie, yea euen to the hurt & greate losse of the Ecclesiasticall state, seeing that eyther partie was grounded vpon a matter of smal importance, and that this dissention might in time to come bring great damage to all the orders of begging Fryers, amongst whome the Iacopins were the chiefe and most esteemed, and presumed of them selues to be the best, it was ordeyned at the instance & earnest sute of Christopher Martignes, that they shoulde in all places bee a like as touching the priuileges & immunities which the Pope had graunted the. Neuerthelesse, the commission of the Inquisition had procured them hatred, and made them become so odious, as that many greatly suspected them, because they alone had to doe with the office of the Inquisition.

In the ende, king Ferdinande was forced of necessitie, to appease this discorde and discention: Wherebeit he very louingly, & honourably placed in their stead very learned popish clergymen,

A notable hystorie of the ciuill

who had long before fauoured this Inquisition. And to the ende the Moorshipfull Iacopins should not take this depriuation and deposing of their estate in ill part, the king had authorized them that they might be present in counsell, and at the deliberations and iudgements of the Fathers Inquisitors of the faith: Insomuch y they may haue at this day to do with y examination: And although they haue rather lost the estimation and commanding then their being forgotten, whiche brought them into so great reputation with euerie man: yet for al that, they hold not withstanding y name of Inquisitors stil, with good hope y they are not so farre from the matter but that they may one day recover the same estate and dignity.

Arragon will
not receive the
Inquisition.

I haue heretofore told you howe the Inquisition came to bee erected in Spain, and although as then it was not so rigorously administred and put in execution, as it is at this present: yet had not the Spaniards themselves any good will to receive it, no more then many other subiectes besides. For when the kyng of Arragon would haue brought the Inquisition into his Countrie, The Estates & nobles of the countrie there, very reuerently gaynesaide, and set themselves against it: First by words and Supplications: But when hee would haue enforced them vnto it, then they opposed themselves against it in deede, and would in no wise accept of it: Because the Estates considered, that such an Inquisition would bee hurtfull and pernicious to the libertie of the kingdome: Insomuche that it was not onely brought in by a liuely force, but also with great effusion of blood, as well on the one side as on the other, as may appeare by the death of maister Aepile, who was sent with full authoritie from the king, to bring the Inquisition into the Realme of Arragon: for the which hee was slayne and massacred in the Cathedral Church of Sarragouse.

The forme and
maner of the
Inquisition.

Nowe there remaineth yet that I declare vnto you, the maner of the Justification of this Inquisition, whereby euery nation may vnderstande, which wayes the Spaniards administer both ciuill and criminall Justice vnto euery man.

When any is accused of heresie, a Seriaunt is sent to cite him, and setteth him a day for his personall appearance, at which day he must come in & obey, for there is not a more hurtful delay then

the it: But if he denie it, and confesse nothing, they let him passe back home to his house: but one of their flies foloweth him, who diligently watcheth whither he goeth and what hee doeth, and if he perceiue eyther by the wordes or deedes of him that was cyted, that he hath any sinister or euill meaning, hee declareth it to the Fathers inquisitors, who againe put him in sute, as follo-
weth.

When he that is accused, appearing at the first day appointed, confesseth all things freely: or that they themselues through long examination maye drawe any thinge out of him: then the accuser, or buzzing flie is hid behinde the tapisserie or hanginges to heare if he confesse the trueth: neuerthelesse the cited, if he bee an inhabitant or Citizen is sent backe home to his house: but if he be a straunger, they send him to prison. Afterward, they sende to the Curate or Bishoppe of the place or Diocesse, where the accused dwelleth, to the end they would not vnadvisedly lay handes vppon the sillie lambe of a straunge shepheard: and therefore they send vnto him and tell him, that they haue one of his sheepe in the pound, but if by aduenture the Prisoner breake out of prison, they send letters to the Tippetstaffe or Marshals Bayliff, signifyng vnto him the fashion and features of the face, and other circumstances of the fugitiue prisoner, who followeth him in euery place where he thinketh to find him, vntill such time as he hath found him, taken him, and brought him backe to prison. This pursute is commonly made after such as are of great estate, or very learned men, whom they feare wil forsake the catholike faith. When the accused is brought againe to prison, they call for the keyes of his house, and deliuer them vnto a publique notary, who must make an Inuentory of al his moueables, letters, writings, & iewels that are within his house: which Inuentory is deliuered into the hands of one of his rich neighbours, who keepeth it vntill the sute be ended: and whē the accused is condemned, and iudged for an Heretike, then all his goods are forfeited for the behoofe of the king. For the custome is, although the sentence be not capitall, that all his goodes shalbe as a deuided spoile, by reason of the heresie, and y the accused is not worthy to inioy his goodes, but are adiudged to bee the kinges, by the Popes graunt.

A notable hystorie of the ciuill

The Gaoler, so soone as the accused is committed to ward, inquireth of him, and diligently searcheth, whether hee haue anye knife, paper, or such other like thing about him: and ransacketh and searcheth him euen to his shirt. Eight dayes after, the Inquisitors suborne the Gaoler, to counsell the Prisoner, instantlye to pray, that he may haue a day of hearing, and the prisoner beseecheth the Gaoler, to craue it in his name, which thing hee doeth. Now, when the prisoner commeth to be hearde, he beseecheth the to make a short sute of it: The he is admonished to discharge his conscience, and acknowledge his fautes, promising him all the fauour and mercy that possibly may be had, if he wil conuert. And if he confesse it, he is neuer a whit s^ooner deliuered thereby, as you may here vnderstand. But if he will not confesse his fault, he is carried backe to prison, and the Inquisitors will tell him, that they will make a short sute of it. Then hee hath agayne audience graunted him, but nothing is done, neither will they tel him wherefore hee is accused, because their meaning is, to ouerthrow him by his owne confession.

After this, he is once more brought before the Inquisitors, who giue him very hard speeches, and saye: If thou wilt not otherwise aunswere, and discharge thy conscience, thou shalt be committed to the Attorney generall, who will handle thee after another manner, & fashion, to wit, he will shrewdly put thee to thy trumpe and triall. For, his purpose, is first of all to make a forfeiture of the goodes of the accused, for the kinges behoofe. But when the cunning admonitions of the Inquisitors cannot make him confesse, nor yet winne him from his perseuerance & constancie, they then practize another way with him. For, then they cause a crosse & masse booke to be brought, & laying s^o hand of the accused vpon them, would put him to his othe, but if he wil not sweare, he is already conuined, & if he doe sweare, then they make diligēt search what countrey man he is, what his friends, his profession, & companions are, & other such like, by which they draw & gather great argumētts & tokēs. But such as are wise and cūning, wil not giue the one word to answer, because they before hand see s^o informatiō and lifting of s^o matter, whereof they are accused. In the ende the Action is deliuered him in writing, that he may defend himselfe by his attorney and counsellor, who
cal.

calletth vnto hym the ppysoner, and taketh vpon him the defense of his cause, and after that the sute is set forwarde accordyng to the custome, hee addeth vnto it in wryting, what the lawe is, exhibiting the same into the hands of the Inquisitors, who, the third day after, sende againe for the ppysoner and his counsellour, to come before them: then they commaund hym to tel the trueth, seeing y in that auditorie they desire nothynge els: But if he will confesse nothing, they carry him backe to ppyson, and at laste the depositions are shewed him, without naming the witnesses: But if any man will depose any thyng against him, the ppysoner enquireth of the qualitie and condition of the person: and it cometh also many times to passe, that the Inquisitors are of the opinion with the ppysoner accused, that if he can gesse or imagine who is his accuser, by calling to minde, with whom hee had any talke of matters of religion, that the same man ought to broughe before him, and accuse him face to face. They that are subtyll & cunning will call for a copie of the action, that they may answer it by wryting. But if there are two witnesses, they may then without all doubt giue iudgement and sentence of death agaynst the ppysoner: and one witness is sufficient to put him to a shew or tryall. The aduocate fil kall pleadeth the condition and the accusers are the witnesses. Two or thre dayes after, when as the ppysoner is againe sent for to come before the Inquisitors, his counsellour sheweth vnto him the principall articles whereof he is accused, and setteth downe vnto him the substantiallest reasons and testimonies of his accusers, y he may consider of them whether they are like to bee true or not: And besides, he biddeth the ppysoner to be wel aduised, to see if he can be able to bring it to passe to vnderstand what they are that haue witnessed matter against him, y he might challenge them: for doing whereof, certaine dayes of deliberation are giuen to the ppysoner to record with himselfe, who or what his enemies be, which are able to depose against him, and lay any thing to his charge: and if he cannot deuise who they should be, God haue mercy on him, for he hath then no more to say. But if he can gesse what they are or name the, no man telleth him y it is they, but his counsellour telleth it to him secretly, & then he is asked before the inquisitors, by what way or meane hee is able to challenge the accuser. And besides, if hee woulde excuse and purge himselfe or that hee bee

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able to prooue that hee hath beene alwayes a great friende vnto the cleargie, and obserued all the ceremonies of the Church, to wit, that hee hath hearde Masse, beene confessed, and worshipped the crosse and Images: To bee short, That hee hath done all cleane contrary to that that his accusers haue deposed, which must bee ordinarily done within niene dayes, and then his cause is merueilously well amended: howbeit all the excuses that hee can make therein are to no purpose, except there come in no witnesses against him, & when the contrarie are examined by the Judge, they conclude vpon the matter, and the aduocate Fiskall prayeth an instance that it may bee ended, as it pleaseth hym. After this, certaine Fryers and Doctors of Diuinitie examine his beliefe, that is to say, they make an interpretation of whatsoeuer the prisoner hath spoken of faith, and if in their opinion hee hath saide well, hee is adiudged to be set free and at libertie, and yet notwithstanding his great damage, which hee shall both feele, and smell of againe, as followeth.

A most cruel
examination of
tryall.

When they can get nothing at all of him, but that hee is able to excuse hymselfe, they then put hym to a shrewde trumpe or tryall: For first they byng him through many odde doores of certaine caues vnder the ground, vnto a place where the Judge sitteth. And thicher presently commeth the hangman, apparelled in a blacke linnen cassocke much like vnto the garmente, which the Spaniardes wear vpon maundie Thursday, when as for pennance sake they beate theselues vntil the blood trickle down withall. Theyr head and face is couered with an hood, hauing no more but 2. holes in it, for to looke out at: In this sort commeth in the hangman apparelled, to terrifie the prisoner, as if the Diuell himselfe woulde correct him for his sinnes: when this is done, the Judge admonisheth him to tell the truth, protesting that if through torture any leg or linne of his be broken, that the fault and scathe shall bee his, and lye in his owne necke. After this, the poore prisoner is shaken out of all his clowtes, saue that they tye a linnen ragge to couer his priuities. Anone after hee maketh the hangman a signe, what torment hee shall haue.

Nowe the ordinary torment of the prisoner is this: First, his handes are bounde together behinde his backe, and his body being

ing cryed vp into the ayre with a tormentous engine, they bind to his feete instruments of yron of twentie five pounds weight: then the Inquisitoys say vnto him: vnderstand thou fellow, that if thou wilt not confesse the troth, assure thy selfe we will leaue thee heere to die in these torments: In this paine hangeth this wretched and miserable patient, all his weeping and teares helping him nothing at all. Then the hangman letteth him slip at one choppe almost to the ground, by meane whereof one ioyne falleth from another. When this is done, the hangman giueth him the second and third charge, and then getteth hym vp: and thus this vnnatural torture and horrible torment lasteth from niene of the clocke vntill it bee eleuen or twelue. When the prisoner continueth constant and will confesse nothyng, hee is carried to the Church, where the Barbour Surgeons put him to three tymes so much paine. The patient beeing in this miserable estate, they will him to bee confessed or shruen, whereupon they finde of what religion hee is: and if so bee that hee will confesse himselfe to the Priest, they haue a notarie hid behinde some clothes to write and note all the prisoners confession, because hee maketh him to speake distinctly and a loude. Then the Priest telleth him: That hee hath power & auctoritie to deliuer him out of the handes of the fathers Inquisitoys. By these and such like words they sometimes deceiue and beguile the poore prisoners, for if they confesse any thing, they bring their owne testimonie against them, to render them punishable. Then the Inquisitoys giue it opely out both abroad and in the prison, that the prisoner hath confessed enough, and besides, hath accused and named all his companions and fellow brethren, although it bee nothyng so. Which thyng causeth the neighbours that haue hearde of so great crosses of the patient, accuse themselves, before any body els hath accused them, because they woulde be reconciled to the fathers and Inquisitoys of the faith, thinking they shoulde bee out of all danger, when as they had once confessed their faults.

The hurte and sicke prisoners are carried to an Hospitall, where the Surgeons and seruicours of the Hospital deale reasonably with them, vntill suche time as they are carryed backe againe to prison. The Notarie, and Galloz or keeper of the prison,

A notable historie of the ciuill

pylson, twice a moneth visit the pylsoners, to see them haue such necessaries as they want, and to finde fault with those which eyther take away theyr victuals from them, or doe them any hurt.

When the day of giuing sentence, and of execution draweth neere : to wit, two dayes before, they sende for the pylsoners, whome the Inquisitors commaund to tell and shewe them of all theyr moueable and vnmoueable goods, willyng them to conceale nothing, to the end that they which are in their houses bee not accused of theft, or that they themselues by the iudgementes of God, fall not dead to the ground, as Ananias and Saphyra his wife did at the Apostles feete, because they lyed and kept backe some of their goods.

The night before the day appointed, they are shypuen, & that day in the morning, the officers of the Inquisition bying vnto them Saint Bennets furniture of apparrel, which is a gally cas-socke without sleeuës, much like vnto the Romanes clokes, couered with blacke linnen cloth. And vpon their heads they haue a Bishops myter made of paper, vpon which is painted a man sitting by the fire : and the man aforesaide, hath his hands bound to his necke, who first is led about the flame, and afterwarde to the fire. When he is brought to the place of execution, the scholars goe singing before him, and as many as are condemned in any pecuniarie or bodily punishment : on eyther side of them, follow the Seriant of the Inquisition: and besides, two Fryars or Iesuites to exhort and admonish the citizens : ouer & besides, there followe the swoyne officers, Iudges, Presidents, Gouernours, and Lieutenants of the king for that Countrie, with many Noble men & Gentlemen, being all assembled together in theyr pallaces.

Moreouer, there are the Priests, and Chapiter of the cathedral Church, Abbots, and Monks, and a great many more, to shed innocent blood. But the aduocate Fil kal, and the Atturney generall ryde also vnto the place of execution, hauing a banner of red damask carried before them, on the one side wherof is armed richly imbrodered, with the name of the Pope, who hath confirmed and established the Inquisitors, & on the other side armes,

and

The sentence of
heretikes.

and the name of king Ferdinando, and on the toppe of the pole of the banner head, is a siluer crosse gylt. There are also on horsebacke the fathers Inquisitors of the faith, and their officers. After this so honorable a troupe, followe a great multitude of people, who come twentie mile of to this goodly feast, & they goe all together vnto a great plaine, where two scaffoldes are set vp, the one for the accused, and the other for the fathers Inquisitors: amongst whome, one of them maketh an oration in the prayse and honour of the Inquisition, and in the discomending and abolishyng of all heresies. This oration beeing ended, one beginneth openly to pronounce the iudgements vpon the poore patients, orderly one after another, beginning first with these that haue the most gracious & easiest kinde of punishment. After the publication of these sentences, the chiefe and head Inquisitor singeth certaine collectes, to wit, Oremus and Quasumus, for the conuerter, praying also vnto God y it would please hym of his meere fauour and grace, to graunt them perseuerance in the Romish catholike faith vnto their liues ende. When hee hath thus saide, al the Cleargie sing the psalme Miserere mei deus, which being ended, the Inquisitor singeth certaine versicles, whom the singing men answer in theyr musical notes, crying, yelling, and bleating out like calues, as they are. Last of all, the saide Inquisitor singeth the absolution, whereby the penitents are absolved of the errour of heresie, but not of the punishment or paine, which is incontinently to be executed, without fauour or mercy, yea contrary to all right and reason.

After y this absolution is giuen, the Inquisitors cause an oth to bee ministred to the people, to wit, that they shall liue and die in the faith, obedience, and religion of the Romish Church: and shall defend the same, and the Inquisitors in all points, and against al men: hazarding theyr bodies against all such as would do them any hurt or set vpon them. Duer and besides, that they shall renounce and abiure whatsoeuer is contrary to the doctrine, and institutions or ceremonies of the Romish church: Moreover, that they shall with all their power and might, defend the holy office, and all their officers, ministers, or seruants therof: taking both one and other to witnes, for the safetie & assurance of the matter.

And

A notable historie of the ciuill

The degrading
of priests.

And if there be amongst these penitents or conuertes, any Cleargie man, bee hee religious man or Priest; that is founde to haue deserued lesse punishment then death, that man is degraded onely by wordes. This degradation is done by the Bilhoppe clad in all his pontificalibus, and by none other, by which hee is interdicted from the administration of his office, benefice, and Priestly dignitie, vntill such time as the Pope shall haue absolved, enabled againe, or restored hym to his dignitie. But yf the fathers Inquisitors haue condemned and iudged him to death, then the patient is degraded in very deepe the selfe same day, as followeth: first, hee is apparrelled in all his Churchrobes, as if hee should go to masse. All which are taken from him by one that playeth the Bishops part, vsing certaine ceremonies and wordes, as hee bereaueth him of them, one after another, vtterly cleane contrary to the ceremonies and wordes that are vsed vnto hym, when he is Priested. After this, they scrape his hands, kippes and crowne, with a glasse or rasor, to take away the holie oyle wherewith he was annoynted. All these ceremonies are openly vsed in the sight of the whole world.

Nowe, when all the sentences are pronounced, & the priestes degraded as aforesaid, The secular magistrate receiueth them, that must dye, accordyng to the appointment and commaundement of my masters the Inquisitors, to execute and dispatch them out of the worlde at the ordinarie place, hauing with them suche diuelish and shamelesse Proctours, as neuer cease calling vpon them to renounce the truth which they had confessed and receiued.

But if the Inquisitors vnderstande that there are some of these that haue not truly repented, but that the wolfe is couered wth y^e sheepes skynne, they deliuer them into the tēporall magistrates hands, they beseech him to deale fauourably with them, and to beware that they breake none of they^r hymmes, nor yet drawe any blood of them: and in they^r chiefe giuing of iudgement, they say: seeing that the paine and trauell which wee haue taken about to conuert these persons is all in vaine and to no purpose, wee deliuer them into the handes of the tēporall magistrate, to bee punished accordyng to lawe and iustice: yet beseeching him that if so bee they shall acknowledge their errors and bee conuerted,

uerted, that they wil shew them al the fauour and mercy that they may possibly.

And all the rest which are not adiudged to dye, are sent backe agayne to prison, but the next daye in the morning, they that are condemned to be whipt, are scourged rounde about the streetes: some are condemned to the Gallies, other some to perpetual imprisonment, and some of the rest to weare S. Bennets furniture and carry him about. But if any of those happen againe to slip, and fall into their handes, they are then without al redemption.

Thou hast now (gentle Reader) heard the causes & occasions of the Spaniards warring in the low countries, & of their warring heretofore against the Mores in Spayne, by whō thou maist vnderstā from whence the very right lipping head of these dolorous waters come, wherewith they had ouerflowed & drownded the low countries had not God of his meere mercy prouided for the same. And besides, thou shalt forthwith vnderstā of wonderful things, to wit, who, by whō, what time, & wherfore, y^e Spaniards are dispersed all the lowe countries about. And therfore I beseech thee consider, whether the matters aforesaid set forth in the 1. booke, be not the amiable & kynd deeds of a liberal Duchesse, against the horrible cruelty of the inquisition: Truly, she hath geuen vs hony mingled with great bitternes, for it is wel inough knowen to al the world, what cruelty & vnnmercifulnes she hath vsed against the poore and miserable subiects.

The king of Spayne fearing that the Protestantes Religion would be encrease and grow in the low Countreyes, to the great hurt and disaduauntage of the Catholike church, and losse of the Inquisition, sent very earnestly (as hath beene heretofore in the first booke set downe) vnto his sister the Lady Margaret Duchesse of Parma, willyng her to preuent this Empayre & downfall. But when he vnderstood that the matter waxed euery daye woofse then other, and that the Duchesse dealt not cruelly enough against his subiects: he sent out of Spaine Don Ferdinand Aluares of Toledo, Duke of Alua, to be Gouvernour and Liuetenant general of the low countries. Who imbarqued him selfe with his men of warre at Barcelone in Spaine, in the month of May 1567. sayling towards Genues with the wind in y^e

The Departure
of the Duke of
Alua out of
Spayne.

A notable hystoric of the ciuill

poupe. The king had commanded all the capitaines of þ realmes of Naples, Scicile, Lombardie, and the rest, to march with their bandes vnto the territorie of Millaine, which they performed: & whiles the Duke lay sicke of an ague, there was a mightie company of men of warre come together: Chiapin Vitelli was his lieutenent, and Gabriel Serbellon, master of the ordnance.

The manner of
the Duke of Al-
ua his going on
his voyage.

When the Duke of Alua was ryd of his Ague, hee tooke his journey through Sauoy, towarde the count of Burgoine, hauing with him eight thousand Spaniards, eight thousand Sauoyas, & a thousand light horse: and from thence, through the Dukedome of Lorayne towarde Luxenbourgh: where he put into pay, the counte Albert of Lodron with three thousand Almaines, & three hundred horse, and came downe together into the low countries vnto Bruxelles. And there he imparted vnto the dutches cause of his comming, shewing vnto her his commission, authoritie and power: which when she had seene, shee sent to the king her brother desiring leaue, that shee might returne to her L. & husband the Duke of Parma: and hauing resigned her estate and office vnto the Duke of Alua, she departed out of the lowe countries the tenth of Aprill 1568. to the no small grieve and sorowe of the people: who considered, that the Duke had taken vpon him all authoritie and power, and meant to continue the deuise which hee had conceiued in his brayne, fauoured and fortified by the strength of the Spaniards, whiche were with him, to the great and myserable ruine and destruction of the lowe countries.

The departure
of the dutches
out of the lowe
countries.

Nowe, when the Duke of Alua had gotten into his possession all the Townes and fortresses well furnished with Spanishe souldiers: hee caused the commissions of the institution of the Inquisition to be proclaimed, commanding euery man in the name of the king, to obserue the catholike religion, and obey the church of Rome.

The erection of
the councill of
troubles.

Afterwarde, hee ordeined a newe council (called the council of troubles) of twelue counsellours, who shoulde haue full power to giue sentence, iudge, and pronounce sentence of death, and in many places, put in new magistrates as pleased himselve. This done, hee, by reason of the troubles already passed, caused a great number of the people to be taken, besides those whome the
Dutches

Dutches of Parma had befoze imprisoned, and executed on them cruell iustice.

Moreouer, he caused a proclamation to bee made for the fugitiues, assigning them a day for their comming in, and whoseuer missed, his goods to be confiscated. This foresaid Duke, at his first entrance greatly dissembled, and would in no wise punish any for the troubles passed with any corporall payne, to the ende to feede the people with a vaine hope, and saide, that the king had giuen a generall pardon for all the hurly burly that had beene committed against the catholike religion, for he hoped thereby to get into his clouches the counts of Egmont and Horne.

But after that the Inquisition, and the counsell of troubles were ordeined & instituted, the Inquisitors at the first chop caused many to bee imprisoned, christened againe the Protestantes children, & married againe all such as had been married in other Churches, in the catholike Churches. And some of the fugitiues which returned home to their houses vpon the vaine hope aforesaide, were sent to prison by the counsell of troubles, & condemned to death, insomuch that blood was there spilt as plentifully as if it had been water. For many had their heads cut off, some were drowned, and some hanged.

In the beginning of September, the Duke of Alua with full power and authoritie, tooke from the Lordes and Citizens of Gaunt, the keyes of the Citie: and deliuered the castle into the handes of Colonel Alfonse, a Spaniarde. The Gauntois complained hereof to the counte Egmont gouernour of Flanders: which count went to the Duke of Alua in their defence, and tolde him that he had done them great wrong: The Duke answered him, that which hee had done was for the benefite and seruice of his maiestie; howbeit this complaint of the Gauntois, stuck very neere his heart.

The Duke of Alua taketh away the keyes from them of Gaunt.

When the Estates of the lowe countries were met together at the citie of Bruxelles, the Duke made them partakers of the authoritie and power which the king had giuen him, and sent the countes of Egmont and Horne to prison as followeth. The Duke sent for them to come to counsell, and when they were there, he brought them into a little hall or parlor as it were, as though hee would haue had some secreete conference with them:

The Estates see the authority of the Duke of Alua.

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The Countes
of Egmount &
Horne become
Prisoners.

In which hall was his sonne accompanied with certeine spanish souldiers armed, who tooke them and kept them prisoners. The Dukes sonne, caused the Countes weapons, to wit, their rapiers and daggers, to be take from them, telling them that they must become his Maiesties prisoners: asking them also, if those were the weapons wherewith they had defended the low countreyes, & in great despite and anger theye away their rapiers and Daggers. This being done, the Duke commaunded the Captayne of the Castle of Gaunt, to receiue the Spaniards into the Castle, which was done. The same day also were taken Prisoners, the Lorde of Backezele, Iohn Casimbrot, a Counsellor of the Count Egmount, and the Count Hornes Secretary: & within a few daies after, the saide Egmount and Horne, were carryed to the Castle of Gaunt, by three thousand Spaniards. The same day likewise, did the Count Lodron take the Lorde Strahlen neere Antwerpe, and brought him to Bruxelles, and the saide Lodron made an Inuentoye of all his goodes, and sealed it with his seale. Not long after, there were many taken Prisoners in the lowe Countrey, whiche caused a great number of the lowe Countrey to gette them ouer into Englande, as also into Germanye, and the East Countreies, amongst whom, one of the chiefest was the Counte Charles Mansfield, with manye Gentlemen, Captaynes, and other souldiers.

The buylding of
the castle of
Antwerpe.

The 24. of December, after that the Duke of Alua was arryued in the lowe Countrey, beganne the Castle of Antwerpe to be built, so strengthened with Rampares and Platformes, as that the like was not to be found: The buylder and Engyner whereof, was one Pachiotto a Sauoyan, whom the Duke had appoynted for that purpose. Nowe, when this Castle was made defenceable and meet to receiue a garnison, the Duke of Alua came to Antwerpe with foure hundredeth horse, leauing the rest of the Souldiers at Bruxelles: But as he was riding towards Antwerpe, the munition house at Malynes hadde taken fire. When the Duke was come to Antwerpe, hee caused five Bulwarkes to bee buylt within the castle, giuing to euerye of them his seuerall proper name. The first was called, Duke, the Seconde, Toledo, the Thirde, Ferdinande, the fourth,

fourth, in the honour of his rase and stocke, Toletan, & the fift in þe honour of the Enginare or maister workeman, Pachiotto.

The very same time, the Frenche desired the Duke of Al-
ua of ayde and assistance, and because he would continue the
amitye betweene the two kinges, hee sent vnto them the Count
Arenberge with twelue hundred low countrey men and Burgo-
nions, and two thousand Spaniards and Burgonions. In the
Gyrdones of the horsemen, was a deuise figured, with two ar-
med handes thrusting themselves out of an Azure Cloude, and
out of two blacke ones, clipping one another in manner of a
Crosse, and at the ende of eche Cloude was a kingly Crowne
with a crosse. And vpon the 2. blacke ones, were two hartes, and
two crownes interlaced and bound together with a silke ryb-
bande, and in the middest, was a Crosse, a Chalice, and a
singing cake, which ribbande houg verpe lowe, garnished
with very riche knottes. This deuise was interpreted as follo-
weth: The two Cloudes did signifie the Diuinitie: The two
hartes, the amitye and vnitye of the two kinges: the armed
handes, their force and power: the Chalice, the Catholike re-
ligion, for defence whereof warres were made in both the
Realmes.

The Duke of
Alua aydeh the
French.

For the building of the saide castle of Antwerpe, whiche was
made to keepe them of the Citie in obedience and awe, it was a-
greed by the great Counsell of the saide Citie, that there should
be gathered foure hundred thousand Florins, which were taken
out of the hundred pennie, two tenthes, and two twenties, of
all the moueable goodes whiche were within the iurisdiction of
the same citie, for þe receipt of which were appoynted for Super-
tendentes, Maister Paul Schuermans Sheriffe, M. Francis
Crosse and M. Giles Smith Merchantes. This Castle being as
it were almoste finished, the Duke caused an Image of Brasle
to be set vppe in the middest of the saide Castle, very artificial-
lye wrought by that excellent Workeman James Ioughe-
linke of Bruxelles, liuely representing the sayde Duke, hauing
vnder his feete a body with two heades, representing the chiefe
Gouernour of the Gueles, as hereafter moze at large shalbee
declared, and then the Duke going from Antwerpe, returned to
Bruxelles,

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In this meane while, at the instance of the Attorney general; there was by a publike edict of his Ma. proclaymed & cited to appeare, to wit, the nineteenth of January, William of Nassau Prince of Orange, who now long time agoe departed out of Brabant, & kept himselfe within the countie of Nassau, the tenure whereof ensueth.

A Proclamati-
on or Citation
against the prince
of Orange.

His Ma. beyng enformed by the Attorney general, how William of Nassau Prince of Orange, being as well by the Emperour Charles the sixt of famous memory, his Lord & father, as also by his Ma. aduanced, to high and great dignity, as to bee made Knight of the order of the golden fleese, a Counsellor of the councill of estate, and gouernour of the countie of Bourgoyne, of Holland, Zeelande, and the honour of Vright: by which may well be vnderstoode the great good will and louing affection that his Ma. beareth him: and contrariwise, the vnthankfulnesse of the sayde Prince who hath otherwise behaued himselfe, and against all the duetie of a true and faithfull subiect. Which Prince hauing forgotten both his honour, othe, & fidelity geuen and promised vnto his Maestie, hath shewed himselfe to be the originall cause, defender, & fautor of all the rebels & traitours: who forthwith, after his Maesties departure out of the low countries, with others many more, haue sought by all meanes possible to inuest and take possession of the sayd low countries, & challenge vnto himselfe the whole gouernment. And besides, that after many practizes, without regard of promise, faith, and fidelity, hath by armes gone about to aduance and oppose himselfe against his saide Maestie, and sacke his countrey of Brabant: whiche hath as yet taken no effect, onelie because hee is not of power and force able to bring it to passe: and yet neuertheless he hath secretly practized to suborne his Maesties subiectes, and perswade them to leaue of the good affection and obedience whiche they haue alwaies borne vnto his Maestie: Insomuche that their good affection shoulde bee conuerted into horroz and ill wil, vnder the pretence of Religion, persuading them by secreete deuises, that his Maestie woulde bring into Brabant the Inquisition of Spayne, and that they ought to set themselves against it: As also the sayde Orange hath heretofore encouraged and stirred by the greater part of the nobilitie

to confederate with him by othe, to oppose them selues against the ordinaunces and commissions, whiche so long agoe haue byn obserued in the countrey of Brabant. Moreouer, that the saide Orange hath helde within his houses as well at Breda, as at Bruxelles, secrete congregations and assemblies, to ayde, assist, and comfort one another, as also haue heere and there put themselues in armes against his Maiestye: Duer and besides, the L. of Brederode being made Captayne & chiefe of the Gueles, hath taken in hande, by the counsell of the sayde Orange, to fortifie his Towne of Viane against his Maiesties forces: yea and that at Antwerpe, although it belongeth vnto his highnes, he caused souldiers to bee leuyed, notwithstanding his Graces commandements befoze published to the contrary, which souldiers were carried downe by water with all kynde of prouision to Viane, as also the sayde Orange sent vnto the sayde Brederode certayne peeces of Artillery, and in some places forbidding the receiuing in of any of his Maiesties garrisons, and taking from his maiestye the entraunce to the water. Furthermore, as he was sent to Antwerpe to appease the troubles and seditions of the Citizens, hee tooke vpon him to doe more then was his Commission, in suffer yug all Heretikes and sectaries to haue y liberty of their religion, and gaue his consent that they might buylde Churches, and erect Consistoryes, whiche hath beene the very originall, as all men well knowe, of all the mischiefes which followed: and hath also accorded and suffered, to cause, there to be leuyed and disbursed money, for the paying and entertayning of souldiers, with many other thinges by him committed, which the saide Attorney generall in time & place, if the necessity of the cause shal require, wil more at large declare: all whiche doyngs tend to noue other end but to enioye the countrey of Brabant, which of right apperteineth vnto his Maiesty, wherein he hath most grieuously endangered him selfe vnto his Ma. so that he is no way to be excused, but woorthy to be punished, and hys faultes and offences to be layde wyde open befoze his face. Wherefoze the Attorney General beseecheth his highnes to graunt an Inditement of high treason to be drawe against Orange with this clause: For, so it is our wil & pleasure. When his Ma. had considered of the articles which the Attorney

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Generall had set downe, he willed and commaunded, that euery man to the vtermost of his power should ayde and assist the said Attorney Generall, for the taking of the sayd Orange Prisoner, and to send him with a sufficient guard to Bruxelles to the Duke of Alua his graces trusty and welbeloued Cousin & Lieutenant, to whō this thing was especially committed, y he might be punished for an example to all others according to the qualitie of his offences, transgressions, and rebellion: and if so be he cannot be taken and layd holde on, let him be cyted by publike edictes, vpon paine of confiscation of all his goodes, personally to appeare peremptorily within fiftene dayes, before the sayde Duke of Alua at Bruxelles, or some other place of the low Countries, to aunswere to all suche Articles as his Maiesties Attorney Generall shall laye to his charge. And if so be he appeare not at the day prefixed & appoynted, then let the Duke of Alua proceede against him according to the declaration aforesaid, simply, and without any other solemnitye of ordinary lawe and Justice. But in case he bee gone out of the lowe Countries, as his Ma. is so aduertised, his Graces expresse will is, that the inditement be read in the city of Bruxelles by a publike edict, and a copp thereof set vp vpon the doores of the Towne house, and vpon all the church doores whersoever this Inditement shall be published, to the end he shall not pretend ignorance: which Inditement shall be of as great force as if it had byn read & pronounced before Oranges owne face.

A Citation against the count of Hoogstrate.

The same day was likewise indited and summoned, Anthoine de la Laing, Count of Hoogstrate, to appeare before the Duke of Alua, to defend himselfe, and aunswere vnto the Articles set downe by the Attorney Generall, in foyme following: howe that the Loyde of Hoogstrate euen from his youth, had beene by his Maiestie aduanced vnto great honour and dignitie, and especially to the order of the golden fleese, and to bee one of the bande of his Maiesties owne ordinaunce: And besides to Honourable Ambassadors to the Emperour and to other Princes, whereby he might very well consider of the singuler affection that his Grace bare him, and of the good meaning hee had to exalt him in time to come, to a farre higher degree of honour: Yet notwithstanding, hee forgetting these benefites, and degenerating

nerating from the vertue of his Predecessors and Auncesors, who alwayes behaued themselves towardes their natural Lord, as true and faithfull subiectes, hath so much forgotten himselfe, as that he hath with all his power and might assisted and taken parte with the Prince of Orange, fauouring him both with his counsell and otherwise, to set forward the troubles, whiche two peeres past had byn in his Maiesties low countries: And first the saide Hoogstrate did assist, treat, and talke of in his castle with the Prince of Orange and his Adherentes, of maltitious and seditious counsels, wher eat his Maiesties subiects were greatly offended, in so much that meanes and occasions were giuen to & wicked to commence new practises: who, after the exhibiting of one supplication engendred many seditions, disorders, and rashe parts, as euery man wel enough knoweth. The which sedition & L. of Hoogstrate did not only not appeale, & admonish the Citizens to desist and leaue of, as being against the authoritie of his Ma. but contrariwise, encouraged them thereto: & personally was all in al to fauour them, as after ward in very deed it wel appeared, when as he counselled them to renewe their Supplication, which was the onely cleane contrary meane and way, to make the Countrey of Brabant readie, to become duetifull and obedient: but rather embolden them to put in execution their deuises & practizes. And after, as he was with the Prince appoynted to & gouernmēt. of & city of Antwerpe, to keepe & people in the obedience & fidelity of his Ma. the said Hoogstrate committed grievous acts: and amongst others openly defended the L. of Brederode against his Ma. wittingly suffered souldiers to bee leued, & sent them by water to Vyane with al necessary prouisiō: I wil craue to speake of the greates fauour and affection that hee hath shewed to the people, wherby he mainteined the seditious parte, and tooke more authoritie vpon him then his Ma. & the Duchesse of Parma his welbeloued sister, then Lady Regent of the Lowe Countries, very vndutifully behauing himselfe towardes her, & not doing that honour which apperteined to her highnes. To be short, he so exalted himselfe, yea rather so forgot himselfe, as & he published in the towne of Malines belonging to his Ma. a commandement and edict, without the charge and appointmēt of the said Duchesse, being then Gouvernesse: whiche caused

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the people become more unruly, and goe on to doe, whatsoeuer they lusted: Insomuch that by this meane he encouraged the people to disobey the king, after y^e he had both writ, & s^et some of the nobility vnto the. Lastly, he was with the Prince of Orange and his consorts at Termond, to take counsel howe they might put themselues in armes against his Ma. to driue him out of Brab^ar, and the Regent his Lieutenant, which thing had long before byn concluded amongst them, so that there remained nothing els but the putting of it in execution, & that was onely for wante, that they were not of power able to goe on with it. All whiche things & many others which in time & season might be declared, are the acts of a rebellious & disobedient subiect, by which he hath committed high treason, & therfore worthy to be punished in ex^ample to others, beseeching esloones his Ma. to graunt him authority to be able to proceede vpon life and death against the saide Hoogstrate.

During this time, the Duke of Alua vnderstanding of the pacification in France, & that the Almaines which serued y^e Prince of Condie, meant to come into Flanders, as y^e king of Spaines Ambassado^r had both sent and writ vnto him, he sent his army of Spaniards and Italians vnto the borders of Liege, and also the L. Ierges with two thousand Malonnes: he farther gaue c^ommission to take into pay the discharged Italians which serued the French king.

The answer of
the Prince of
Orange.

The 24. of Aprill William Prince of Orange, and Antho-
nie de la Laing Count of Hoogstrate answered to the Indite-
ment of the Attorney Generall of Brabant: and layde all the
faule of the troubles, warres, dissensions, and seditions, vpon the
Inuentors and Autho^rs of the Inquisition of Spayne, and
discharged them selues before the Counsell of troubles, especi-
ally of high Treason, accusing esloones the Duke of Al-
ua of his tyrannye, who was so angrie with them for it, as
that hee declared their goodes to bee confiscated, and made
a seizure of the Counte of Buren, the Prince of Orange
his Sonne, who studied at Louayne, and sente him into
Spayne quyte against the Priuiledges of the Uniuersitye.
The contente of the aunswere and defence of these noble men
is this.

Whiles

Whiles the Prince of Orange had authoritie and Gouvernment, he from the first beginning of the troubles and dissensions, was very painefull and diligent, to appease and pacifie all the troubles that were in the Countrey of Brabant : and I will leaue vnto the Reader to weigh and consider of the estate wherein the sayde Countrey of Brabant stood, both before and after the troubles of the lowe Countries : and firste tell of the notable warres that the Emperour Charles the fift of famous memorie, and after him, king Phillip of Spayne beeing Lordes of the lowe Countreies, made, as it were for the space of tenne yeeres with the Frenche king : and what effusion of blood happened in Fraunce, the ouerthrowe of many thousandes of menne may sufficiently testifie : and the Princes and Frenche noblemen, and other nations, whiche assisted king Henrie, who bestowed both their bodies and goodes in his seruice. As also maye the ruined and destroyed Townes, Fortresses, Castles and others, or if they were well garnisoned yet they were fayne to shake off, their obedience from their naturall Lorde, and sweare newe obedience to a newe Lorde, others that were vtterly ruined and destroyed, were broughe and reduced into villages, and the Citizens, and all the rest of the Inhabitants were sacked and brought to such pouer ty as that they were all the daies of their life very poore and miserable. These are the fruits of cursed warre, which (alas) continued ouer long.

But as by the suppressing of the warres in Brabant and the Countries neere adioyning, the people beganne to prosper, and the Countrey flourish : the people of the lowe countries were grievously charged & vexed with the Spanish Inquisition, whiche daily augmented, by reason of the increasing of y^e reformed religion: insomuch that it was great wonder, how the saide Inquisition was so long borne withall: And yet it is most manifest, ly knowen y^e the subiects of the said low countries were alwaies ready not only to yeeld all their duefull obedience, but also hazard their liues and goods in his Ma. seruice. On the other side, the Nobility both did and shewed, all their due ty, fidelitie, and louing affection: and as for the Estates, they richely gaue for the maintenaunce of the Warre a marvellous summe

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summe of money, and that so with good heartes,, as that it was impossible for any man to imagine anye signe or token of misliking in them: so that it is most like to be true, that the sayd lowe Countries haue so loued his Maiesty, as that they behaued themselves as faithfull subiectes in all thinges which touched the obedience, and reuerence due to him, to the ende that his lowe Countries might alwayes be assured against all forren inuasion and warre.

Seeing then that the subiectes, especially the nobility, so obediently and seruiceably stood vnto his Maiesty, and in the end gouerned the warres which continued so long, the subiects had a woonderful great hope, that his Maiesty would procure, that the sayd low countries should be franke and free from the daunger of ciuill warres. And, so long as the subiects saw al things goe well forward, they alwayes continued constaunt in their obedience and fidelity: and although the Brabanders, who heretofore flourished in all kynde of trade of merchandise, had in the former warres beene in great perill and daunger, yet for all that they gathered a greate peece of money: so that it is too too manifest, that the king was well assured agaynst all the force of any Monarches and Princes: and that which is moze, beyng reconcyled with his enemies, he was not onely discharged of all the debtes whiche grewe by reason of the warres, but also in a very fewe peeres, attayned to woonderful great wealith, prosperity and honour. For, when his Maiesty was rayled vp to so high a degree of honour, forren Potentates & Princes feared him, because his subiectes so honoured and reuerenced him: and his Maiesty was thought to be the most mighty Monarch, yea so farre passing al others, as that it must of necessity needes be granted, that whatsoeuer they were that would goe about to impeach and disturbe, this his so great good felicity, must vndoubtedly by this notable vnion, be oppressed and beate downe: Inso much that all they haue greatly offended, whiche haue busied themselves about matters, preiudiciall or hurtfull to his Maiesty, and the common weale, and done such thinges as are worthy punishment to the example of others, whē as the warres being suppressed, they haue renewed fresh comotions, and caused ciuill warres: and therfore the Prince of Orange doth verily and steadfastly

fastly beleue, that they which haue brought the countrey of Brabant into this extreme misery, calamity, & bondage, ought likewise to be punished and chastised.

And such the Prince of Orange is publickly in the Inditement, accused by the Attorney generall, to be the original & first mouer of the alterations happened in Brabant, he is cōtēted to abyde the paynes in the said Inditement exprested, if so be it bee true that the Attorney hath set downe. The sayde Attorney generall affirmeth, that the Prince is ambitious, and of an vnbridelde mynde to gouerne, whereuppon ensueth, that hee hath a purpose to take bypon him, and enioy an other mans office and Estate, and hath pretended nothing els in al his counsels and sayres.

For the confutation of this article, as the originall and chiefe poynt of the complaynt of the Attorney generall, it is sufficient that he referre the matter ouer vnto all such as know the prince of Orange, by whom it may be vnderstoode, if euer hee was desirous of rule: and besides, that he hath well gouerned his goodes and possessions, whiche by Gods grace were lefte and geuen vnto him, by whiche hee hath more increased his honour and reputation, then by any other charge that euer he had. And al men know, that if the Prince had sought and hunted after his owne particular gayne, that hee had a farre better waye and meane to haue heaped riches together, by which hee might haue come to estimation and authority, & there held him, then to be at great charge and expenses in Court, in hope to come to authority by others procurement: so that all the world knoweth, that the prince in all his actions and behauiour neuer sought his owne particuler benefite.

And besides, the Prince neuer once thought to drawe awaye his Ma. subjects from their obedience due vnto the same, notwithstanding that the people alwayes most earnestly loued him, but contrariwise continually to keepe them in a good liking of his Ma. but the very cause, in truch, of this their estrauing them, is the cruelty of the commissions newly published. This then is the onelic waye and meane, that maye bee saide, that the Prince euen to the last cast, hath alwayes shewed his good and sincere affection vnto his Maiesty & his lowe Countries:

and

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and it must of necessitie be graunted, that the Prince at no hand hath at any time, ment to take vpon himselfe any authoritie ouer his Maiestie: which as some thought, might moze commodiously haue been conserued in tranquillitie and peace: whereupon followeth, that the Prince his meaning was farre otherwise. For, his Maiesties authoritie coulde no way haue been peaceably conserued, if so be the Countrey of Brabant should hane been conserued in her auncient and former prosperitie, but by consenting to the exercise of the cruell Inquisition. For he ment to oppose him selfe agaynst the sayde Inquisition: All which his actions doe witnesse, that he is no whit ambitious, but cleane contrary. For, long before that time, hee had resigned his dignitie of the Counsell of Estate, as also the dignitie of the kinges chiefe officer of the treasure that arose vppon penall Statutes, which is the meetest office of all other to binde the Estates to be beholden vnto him: Yea hee was offered to take vppon him the gouernmente of altogether, if hee woulde haue accepted of it, whereunto, all the rest of the nobilitie laboured most carefully to attayne: But the Prince so abhorred this Ambition, as that hee resigned these two dignities into his Maiesties handes, when he considered that hee coulde doe his Maiestie but slender seruice in counsell, by reason of certaine beastly dealings which bereaued him of the meane for that seruice.

Neuerthelesse, when his Maiestie had appointed him to be of his Counsell, hee so duetifully administred this function and dignitie, as his conscience witnessed vnto him to be necessarie, to each mans most profite, although he afterwarde perceiued that his Maiesties loue altered and abated, through the practise and deuise of one or two noble men.

But after that his Maiestie had aduisedly euery way considered of the Prince of Oranges good and faithfull seruice, as he departed out of Zeland towards Spaine, hee most earnestly besought the said P. to be of his counsell, who after long excuse accepted thereof. Nowe, when as the Prince saw, that they helde on their olde course, and far otherwise then his M. had commanded and appointed him, two yeeres after or neere there about, he agayne besought that he might be discharged. Wherefore the newe deuises were moze and moze set forwarde, which were the causes

causes of the beginning of the troubles and commotions : By which the Inquisition was somewhat moderated and a fresh surreased : But as in these Countries the Regiment of Almaines, as a necessary thing, was brought into them for their defence and safegarde , they were suffered to haue Sermons as well in the Townes as in the fieldes abroade : and namely in diuers places, some (except where the reformed religion had been already accepted of in the Countreys neere there about) kept the exercise of the sayde religion secretly : whereby, the sayde reformed religion dayly encreased in this so populous Countrey , so that at the last in fewe yeeres, the name of the Inquisition became very odious, considering that by it aboue fiftie thousande had been put to death in Europe, and a greater number were enforced to forsake their goodes, kinsfolkes, and all their friendes , and spende their liues in perpetuall miserie : which thinges did not onely cause great alteracions and changes , but an hatred against the inquisition: Insomuch that in many places, the officers durst not openly put it in execution, but very secretly, and yet not without great perill and danger of commotion. Which thing some of the officers can beare witnesse of, who had some of the prisoners taken from them agaynst their willes : whiche caused all suche as experience had taught, long before to foresee, that the sayde Inquisition would be the cause of some trouble and commotion, if in continuance of time it were not wisely provided for, and good order taken about it.

The Queene of Hongrie then gouernesse of the low Countrey, greatly feared this mischiefe and miserie. Wherefore shee tooke her voyage to Ausbourg towards her brother the Emperour of famous memorie Charles the fifth, with whome shee so handled her businesse, as that the crueltie of the Counsell of Trent, then concluded vpon, shoulde be moderated, and that the Antwerpians and Brabanders that would not receyue the Inquisition, shoulde be quite and cleane rid of it, as after ward they were.

Nowe, whiles the Countrey of Brabante had beene in quiet a good long time, throughe the aucthoritie of the Gouernesse , and that all thinges were ordered by the aduise of the Coun-

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Counsell of estate, the Attorney Generall thrust him selfe in to treat or deal immediatly after his Ma. departure, eyther alone or els with some tyzannous noblemen, of & in matters of great charge and waight, and immediatly signified vnto his Ma. of their peruerse counsel. When the king was aduertised that the Inquisition had not his right course and proceeding, he was very angry & pensive: neuer thelesse some curteous noblemen earnestly besought him, to haue an hearty remembrance, of the seruices & good deedes which his subiectes had done in the former warres: & so rule himself as the state of the time required, & abolish the all newe deuises, as the new Bishoppes & the Inquisition, according to the priuiledges of the countries: seeing that some wicked men had practized these new deuises in the lowe Countries, contrary to the state of the time, and against all the immunities and priuiledges of the lowe Countries: and that those thinges might be abolished, considering that the troubles and commotion in Fraunce which happened there, by reason of the Inquisition, are appeased and suppressed by the ceasing therof. Moreover, that the erection and institution of the new Bishoprickes, is hurtfull to the foraine Archbishoppes and bishoppes, whiche haue any iurisdiction and diocesse in these low countries. For this and many other reasons therefore, they of the lowe Countries considering, that the newe deuises were the causes of great misery and manye mischiefes, if in tyme they were not prouided for and remedyed, made complaynt vnto the Gouvernesse: who, by, and bypon, the deliberation and determination of the Counsell of estate dispatched the Baron of Montigni knight of the order, and sent him poste into Spayne to his Maiesty, with commission to declare vnto the king the Estate, and generall misliking of the lowe countries, whiche hath risen by reason of these newe deuises: and that for this cause it is come to passe, that the Nobilitie of Brabant to meete with this mischiefe and misery, haue beene pressed and constrained, especially to haue theyr desire and demaunde accomplished, alwayes hoping, that his Maiesty would satisfie their request, or that he would at the least moderate the charge and burden wherewith they were too too much oppressed, and especially the Bishoppes and Abbots whiche heretofore flourished in Brabant, were

were nowe greatly endammaged: wherfore they haue likewise sent their Deputies vnto his Ma. as also y^e Antwerpians, for the withstanding and letting of the Inquisition, and the Institution of the new Bishops. The which message at sometimes had kept in suspence the troubles of the low countreies, because euery man hoped, that the sayde Deputies, and Ambassadors, might by his Maiesties good counsell and conclusion, receiue some good ordinance for their aduancement and profite, accordingly as the affayres required. But that the reformed Religion was so rooted euery where, as that in some places Sermons were openly preached, to wit, at Valence, Tournay, and other Cities and Townes: & the reason was, that because the liberty of the religion in France was agreed vpon, the low countrey mē hoped, & verily thought themselves to haue as wel deserved for their seruices past, towards their king, & his predecessors, as y^e Frenchmē towards the French king, and therefore that they ought likewise to bee agreed, & haue the liberty of conscience granted of them.

For it might be manifestly scene, that it was impossible for y^e auncient Romish ordinances to be obserued and kept in y^e countreies aforesaid, because y^e they which vsed y^e trade of merchandise, bought & solde their commodities with such nations their neere neighbours, as were of another religion. But when the aduerse party began to suppress & root out the reformed religion, then it might be easily scene, how it continually grew & encreased. And yet neuertheles the cardinal of Granuelle so hotly followed his busines, as that he put the afoze sayd Bishops in possession, because he himselfe had the Archbishoprick of Malines for his share, by vertue wherof he was Legatus natus, & Primate ouer al y^e other bishops, & had ouer & besides for a commendum, the Abbotship of Affligam, which was one of the richest in al the whole countrey: hauing gotten also to himselfe of the Abbayes that remayned certayne of the Diuines to be his fauourites.

And although contrary to al hope & expectation, this new deuise was brought in into diuers cities, yet might the enuy & malice of many be easily scene & knowen herein: for, diuers cities woulde at no hād receiue & accept of these new bishops, but opposed themselves against them: to wit, the Antwerpians, Rurmondians, Goreningsians, Deuentrians, & others. Howbeit, by this doing,

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the cardinal of Grāuelle had obtained such authoritie & fauor, as he might giue away & bestow al his Ma. offices & benefices wher it pleased him, insomuch he had gottē for his part to be Lord & king ouer al his other fellow bishops: for by he mean diuers deuises were practized, to obtaine & keepe he authoritie & superintendentship in his Ma. countries. And to he end he might vnderstand the state of al the whole doings there: as also to get the loue and good wil of al the kings, princes, & potētates neere about, he had authoritie to make & place al his Ma. commissaries & other officers: & emōgst the rest made his brother Germaine Ambassadors in France, who had woon there such fauour as that the king and the Queene sent with al careful diligence, to haue him sent back vnto their Ma. for the quiet of the common weale.

And whosoener would consider & thoroughly weigh he things aforesaid, might easly iudge who it was, he had vsurped, & chalēged to himself power & authoritie aboute his Ma. frō whēce haue proceeded al these troubles & grifes. But al these things, & new deuises aforesaid, breed such great sorow & heauines in he Ma. of Oranges heart, as he desired not once nor twise, but many and sundry times, to be discharged of his Counsellership of estate, & of the Lord Treasurership of he reuenewe of his highnes forfeitures of penall lawes, desiring nothing so much as to haue these new deuises abolished. But whē he said Prince considered & vnderstood, he they sought by al meanes possible, betterly to bring in subiectiō he countrey of Brabant, to he end he might be no occasiō to withstand and gainsay he same, he carefully stood vpon it to be discharged of he said offices & dignities, seeing it was neither hurtful, either to his Ma. or yet to he cōmō weale, to he end he might be at a moze leysure to look to his own busines, & not be sofid guilty of he disorders wh he foresaw was like to come through he strage & new deuise. And for this cause he besought both his Ma. & also the Duchesse of Parmachen Lady Regent to be discharged of his estate & gouernment, & such he the gentlemē cōfederates had exhibited their supplicatiō, wherof he aduersaries talked diuersly their pleasures. Truly, if the Prince had been so ambitious, as to haue taken to him selfe his Ma. authoritie, it is most likely, he his highnes wold haue discharged him, & not expressely commanded him to continue in his Estate: for it is a moste iust law to discharge ambitious noblemē of their estates: least in the end they wold go about to take

upon them the possession of all the kinges countries, & make the
 theyr owne. And therefore this is cleane contrary to that that
 the Atturney generall hath set downe: for it is before sufficient-
 ly declared, that the prince neither before nor yet after his high-
 nesse departure, was suspected to bee ambitious, or meant to take
 upon him his maiesties autoxitie, either yet make himself Lord of
 Brabāt, seeing it is most euidēt p the prince sought by al possible
 meanes to bee vnburdened of his Estate. For all men may well
 vnderstand, that will at least consider any thing of the matter,
 that sithence his maiesties departure, the cardinall of Granuell
 hath had all power and authoritie: and therefore it may truely
 both by many testimonies and examples bee verified, that I had
 great reason to seeke to bee discharged of mine estate & dignitie:
 howbeit I cannot forget to speake one thing, which is this, that
 the dutches of Parma hath confessed, that sithence the departure
 of the said Cardinall, that she within a few monethes vnderstood
 more of the state and affayres of Brabant then she did in all the
 tyme that the Cardinall continued there.

Moreouer, when as in the last troubles at Bruxelles, the dut-
 ches was purposed to flie vnto mons in Haynault, and from
 thence towards the Alpes, to giue place vnto suche as desired to
 haue greater authoritie then she had: The Prince in the company
 of other noble men instantly besought her, not to work such iniu-
 ry to her selfe, nor shame to his maiestie: whereupon euidently &
 truely appeareth, that all the Princes actions and purposes are
 far from all ambition: for if the prince would haue taken vppon
 him the whole gouernment, he could neuer haue had a better &
 fitter occasiō to haue brought it to passe, the p dutches departure:
 howbeit he was of another mind, & therefore vsed all the meanes
 possible he could to stay her going, & preuent p disorderly dealing.

And besides, when counsell was giuen to his maiestie, that it
 would be very profitable for his coucel of Estate to be increased
 with noble men and wealthie learned men, for the preuenting of
 all dissention & discord, & that all things might be better admini-
 stred: and chiefly because that the ordenances of the counsell
 aforesaide might be obserued, & diligently executed, & to be short,
 to p end p all occasions might be cut off from euery one for the
 mouing of cōtrouerlies, according to euery māsfātasie, or els to

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hunt after and seeke theyr owne gaine of the goods of the common weale : to the which end also the Dutches of Parma required the prince, to set downe vnto her the names of meeke and worthe men for the same estate, the said Prince for the auoiding of all suspicion in seeking after his owne particuler commodity, referred the matter to his maiesties good pleasure, which is a manifest token that hee neuer sought his owne particuler advantage : so that it must needes followe, that it is very farre of, that he is ambitious, & desirous of rule, as he is accused, seeing it is the propertie & condition of all ambitious men, ordinarily to to beare sway alone without companion or mate : now his meaning was cleane contrary, for his purpose was to haue moe counsellors of the estate, & that many might be partakers of the same authoritie.

And further he required & said that he was minded to get him home to his owne house, & leaue his roome to some other, as the Dutches and diuers els of the council of estate, had thereof rendered good testimonie. It is therefore not necessary to lay open more certaine & apparant occasions of these troubles : namely, when a man weigheth & considereth how desirous the Brabâders are most earnestly to defend their priuileges, which they so long tyme haue inioyed by vertue of the mutuall contracts made betwixt their Dukes and them, and also to maintaine their priuileges which they haue obtained partly by those Dukes, & partly by the Emperours of old time graunted vnto them : especially when they feared to haue been bereaued of them through y great oppression and burden of strange people. But as the Cardinal of Granuell persisted & continued in his unagination and opinion: and that in his absence his adherents and complices proceeded on further in y matter, forthwith all discorde & dissention began to reuiue, so y it could not be met withal, by reason of y dissention y was betwene those of the councill of estate, of y priuie council, & the treasurers of y receipt of the reuenues of the forfaitures of penall lawes, who were so ouer ruled by y cardinal, & the Lords that tooke his part, as that they could neuer agree together.

And because that this and many other such like thinges bred and nourished great dissention, wherfore to the end to meet w all apparat disorders & mischiefes, it was determined that y Count
of

of Egmont should bee sent vnto his Maiestie, at whose returne euery man comforted himselfe with good hope, and an expresse declaration of amendment, and remedie of euery thing, and especially for the moderation of the Inquisition. And for the same purpose in the yeere 1565. there assembled three Bishops, three Diuines, three Doctors of the ciuill lawe, and as many Canonistes, to conclude a moderation vpon the saide Inquisition: whereupon in the ende it was sent to his maiestie, howbeit no whit agreed vnto, neither yet published. Duer and besides this, in the end of the same yeere his maiestie gaue expresse commandement, that the new bishops should bee brought in without contradiction, or els proclaim the decrees of the councell of Trent, & giue vnto the Inquisitors their authoritie and power, by which they had both tēporal & ecclesiastical knowledge & authoritie, & by the determination & conclusion of the Tridentine councel shold forthwith be put in execution with all seueritie.

The copies of this commandement were by and by sent vnto al the cities & townes of the low countries, expressely cōmanding them to rule theselues according to his maiesties commadement and commissions. This was the second cause and chief occasion of the alterations and disorders as hereafter shalbe shewed.

Seeing then that the inquisition principally, was by his maiestie expressely cōmanded, it must of necessitie follow, by al the faulte of the troubles and disorders passed, is to be laid vpon himselfe & vpon none els. Wherefore it neither agreeth with the truth, nor yet any way like to be true, by through the exhortation of by prince of Orange the subiects should rebel against his hignes, or that he first of all should by his perswasions draw them out of the way, & stir vp the greatest part of the nobilitie to confederate theselues with him, or to be mutinous, and by an oth confirm their league, to the end to oppose & defend themselves at all times against his maiestie & his ordinances, which were from the first beginning obserued & kept. And besides, it is vnlike to be true, by this assēbly and confederacie was made in his courts of Breda & Bruxelles, & so accordingly to be the authour, fautor & chiefe of the obstinate & mutinous rebels, or disturber of the publike weale. For, he neuer stirred by sedition or dissention against his maiestie, & therefore ought not to be accused thereof: for the saide conspiracie began

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not by any exhorting of his, but through the griefes proceeding from the Inquisition, and because that the promises and other incidents made in the yeere, 50.55.62.65. as befoze hath been declared and shewed, were not performed and kept. Wherefoze the prince of Orange affirmeth that by the foresaide league, and the accusacions, and other matters ensuing, the selfe same thing came to passe which the Dutches of Parma heeretofore had spoken in open councell: to wit, that the declaration of the cruell commissions published by his maiestie, woulde cause a merueilous alteration, seeing that many had conceiued som good hope, of the good tidings that the Count of Egmont would bring with him at his returne out of Spaine.

And it is sithence also come to passe, that it was written to the Dutches, as she herselfe hath confessed in her answer, that the declaration of the Commissions published by his maiestie, was the cause of the whole alteration: which commissions (as befoze is said) are the very spring head of the league, made against his knowledge and will. But so soone as the same declaration was come to the handes of the said Dutches, and vnderstood the content thereof, 15. dayes befoze the confederates had assembled themselves at the Towne house: she saide and expressly declared, that the same declaration liked her not in al those points, & that she could not deuise howe the rigour of the commissions coulde by any meanes keepe the lowe countries in peace and vnitie. Surely, her highnes tooke not the meaning of the confederates to bee sedicious: seeing she verily beleueed that the confederates woulde attempt nothing against his maiestie, nor their countrie, neither yet any thing that might be hurtful thereto: so that this is a cleere case, that these alterations & troubles came first and principally from the Inquisition. Here are to be considered and weighed the examples of Germanie, Fraunce, England, and Scotland: howbeit it must needes bee graunted, that his maiestie meant to shewe nothing els by the setting forth of these cruell commissions, but in time utterly to destroy þe countrie of Brabant. And contrariwise, in the countries where the religion, or at least the libertie of conscience is graunted and agreed vpon, & where þe Inquisition hath had nothing to do, there is a peaceable and quiet abiding and dwelling. Which thing

witnesseth

witnesseth vnto vs, that there is a greater difference to liue in libertie of conscience without the Inquisition, then in all malice, iniquitie, and licentiousnes, without correction and chastisemēt: neyther yet did it euer like y^e p^rinces & potentates of Germanie, who euer desired the peace of they^r countries, & alwayes sought the publyque weale of them, vnto whome the matter as greatly apperteineth as vnto his maiestie, but to suffer the libertie of religion or conscience, if at any time they feared commotions and rebellion.

Moreouer, his maiestie might well enough vnderstande the meaning of the confederates, seeing they neuer shewed themselves obstinate, or went about by force, to obtaine y^e which they craued: but only besought his maiestie to vnderstand their grief and supplication, & thereupon take the aduise of the generall Estates, promising hereafter to liue in the cause of religion, according to the ordenance & determination of y^e said Estates. And the if any man should be disobedient, seditious, or a disturber of the common weale, y^e he might be punished according to the qualitie of the offence. Now the confederates desire nothing els, but to haue their supplicatiō heard, or that the generall Estates might be called & assembled together: and seeing that this busines had so fallen out in Brabant, that is, was also necessary that a thing of so great importāce should be propounded to y^e said estates, who in all ages, vpon such occasions according to the tenure of they^r priuileges, were called together by the Emperour Charles the first: to determine & conclude vpon the state of religion according to the ordinances, which cleerely may be seen in the text graunted and published in the yeere of our Lord. 1531.

Wherefore the confederates thought it lawefull for them to requyre and craue so much, such it hath been alwayes the custome in such sort to require such kind of things. As also in the bookes of the Machabees, we shall finde good and holy confederacies made, for the aduancing of the glory of God, the welfare and health of the Gouernors and Magistrates, and the prosperity of the common wealth & of the countrie. Likewise the prince of Orāge thinketh, that the confederacie of the nobilitie ought not to be takē for sedition or rebellion against his maiesty, for so much as cōcerning y^e same, y^e cōfederates haue ioynely promised to app

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and assist one the other against the same: but yet vpon this condition that this conspiracie, as before is sayd, should end, when as his maiestie had by experience found, that the Inquisition wold be enemye to all peace & tranquillitie: wherefore they also offered to desist & leaue off theyr petition & purpose, & yelde vnto his maiestie alobedience & be ruled by the determination & ordenance of the generall estates.

The dutches also was of this minde, who had said, before the arriual of the confederates, that she was of the opinion to moderate his maiesties determination as touching the Inquisition: yea she made a kynd of shewe in the kyngs name, that she would exempt the countrie of Brabant from the Inquisition: howbeit sithence her first commyng into these low-countries, vntill her departure hence, she hath in very deed shewed the contrary. For shee tooke this confederacy, and the exhibiting of the supplication, for disobedience and sedition, although shee had notwithstanding heretofore dissembled the same both in word and deed. This her dissembling and hypocrisie the prince minded to shew, not that hee had beene the inuenter and furtherer of this confederacie, which no way toucheth him, but because he woulde hereby declare that she iumped with his maiesties opinion, who esteemed of the confederates as rebels & traytours.

But when as the dutches by his maiesties commandement & by the aduise of all the counceils, had agreed to the supplication of the confederates, yea, so far as that she had promised vnder her owne hand and seale, that the confederates should not bee holden guiltie, nor yet accused by reason of this confederacie, nor of what soeuer followed thereon, it followeth that neither his maiestie, nor yet the dutches, had iust occasion to distrust the confederates: neither say that the Dutches had done it for any other purpose, & to appease those that had vndutifully behaued themselves, and cast downe the Images, which was altogether done against his will and pleasure. Neuerthelesse, a man might say, that his maiesties meaning and the Dutches were diuerse, although they agreed and were all one. For the intent of eyther of both was none other, but to winne the friendship and good will of the confederates, whereby the welfare of his maiestie (as they thought) should be more aduanced then hyndred.

For the declaration of his Maiestie, and of the Dutchesse. hath been so at large set downe, as that it is enough to excuse and purge them of the accusation wherewith they were charged: wherefore it is to be considered, that neyther his Maiestie, nor yet the Dutchesse, do take the confederates to bee seditious, thus a man may easily weigh, how variable and inconstant the hearts and thoughtes of Kings and Princes are.

Moreouer, the king had written with his owne hande to the same intent and purpose in the moneth of August, to wit, after and before that the sayd confederacie and supplication were made, that his Maiestie greatly liked of the prince of Oranges seruices, neyther did hee make any account of that that had passed: and that the Prince shoulde not leaue off for any other reasons to bee perswaded, touching his fidelitie, but that his Maiestie wholly trusted him, and woulde not beleue any reasons that shoulde tende to his hurt, of whome hee wrote, that they had been too blame, and done very ill.

Thus by the reasons aboue sayde may easily bee perceiued, that there is no likelihoode, why the sayde Prince shoulde bee called the chiefe, truentor, and fautor of those that were rebelles, seeing it could not be founde, that he had stirred vp, maynteyned, and defended the sayde confederates, neither was any man able to say that euer he protected any of the confederats or others: and therefore why should he be therof accused? furthermore, he is charged, by some of the confederates put the selues in armes and stood at defense in diuers places, without regarde of any thing what so euer: which matter toucheth no whitte the sayde Prince, and therefore not bounde to answer it, neyther yet to excuse himself for other mens fautes and offences: and agayne hee is not to be charged in that, that some of the confederates became after Rebelles and Traytors: seeing that what so euer ensued thereof, was done not onely without his commaundement, but also to his great sorowe and grieve.

Yea and that which is more, all these thinges were committed in his absence, and for that cause, leuied hee men of warre for his owne defence, although his aduersaries say to the contrary: and that this was done, by reason that hee woulde take al his Maiesties authoritie to him selfe, considering that he had at that tyme in his handes both cities and castles,

Howe,

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Howbeit the Prince had none other meaning, but according to the Dutcheſſe commaundement, reduce the ſayde Countreys, eſpecially Holland, Zeland, and Utrpyght, of which he was gouernour, to peace and quietneſſe, and them to conſerue vnder his Maieſties obedience and fidelitie: doing all duetie for the faythfull adminiſtring of his Eſtate and office. Whereof the preſidentes, Counſelles, Eſtates, Officers, and Magiſtrates of the ſayde Countreys, and Cities, can beare him good witneſſe: and that he was no whit partiall, but admoniſhed eyther partie to bee obedient and faythfull vnto his Maieſtie, as hee alſo ſo did in many other places where he had any dominion. Which thing may manifeſtly bee ſeene, by that that the Prince, by the grace of God, hath there reſiſted and letted, that in all theſe troubles and ſeditions, no Citie or Towne belonging to his Maieſtie, hath been endamaged, taken, or withdrawne either from his, or the Dutcheſſe obedience.

And for confutation and ouerthrowe of the Count Hooghſtrate his inditement, and the accusation of his ambition: and for the holding of an aſſembly in his caſtle of Hooghſtrate, or the conſpiring with the Countes of Egmont and Horne at Deuremond, & likewiſe his conſpiracie with the Prince of Orange, in ioyntly ioyning together in armes againſt his Maieſtie and the ſtopping with all their power and might the enterance of his armie into Brabant: The Prince proteſteth, and referreth himſelfe ouer to the testimonies of the Lordes that then were aſſembled at Hooghſtrate, who can report whither any other matters were there treated of, then viſiting of one another, and to be merry together, in meeting of certain noble men ſtrangers, their good friends & kinſmen, neither ſhall it euer be prooued that any thing in that place was determined & concluded vpon, that might any way, turne to his hurt. And again, they ſhall neuer be able, truly proue, that he had been at any aſſembly either at Deuremond, or in any other place, about the conſulting & conſpiring for the ſtopping of his Maieſties arriual into Brabant. But he right well vnderſtandeth, that all theſe actions haue ſniſſerly bin interpreted vnto his Maieſty. Whiche hath greatly empayred his highneſſe louing affection towards him: For he had gotten y^e cōpy of a letter written by
Fran.

Francis of Alana, his Ambassador in France, to the Dutchesse, that what time & place serued, the Countes of Egmond & Horne, and the D. of Orange, should be punished as they had deserved: but that in the meane while, they should be gently and louingly intreated: and in the said letter was also conteyned, that the troubles and commotions in Brabant were imputed to them.

Thus here we see the principall cause of their assembly at Deuremond: But these noble men doe trust and sticke to their innocency: concluding none otherwise, but to propounde to the Dutchesse the contente of this letter, and to keepe them selues safe from it. And that which might be herein more talked of, hee trusted that the Lordes which were then in prison had more at large declared the same.

And as concerning the rest of the articles of the inditement, to wit, that the Prince had counselled the L. of Biederode, to fortifie and fence his castle of Uiane against his D. that is a very lie, and against all truth: But this is true in deede, that about certain peeres past, the prince himselfe, being at Uiane, the L. of Biederode said vnto him: That the L. his father had appoynted him as it were by will, to make by the ditches and rampares of Uians already begun, whereupon he answered, that for the accomplishing of his fathers will he would doe it: But there was not a word spoken of the king, neither had he once the heart to attempt any thing against him. And as touching the aduice of fortification, the nobilitie were in all times at their free choise, and libertie to fortifie their Mannors when it pleased them. Moreover, Uiane, with all the iurisdiction thereunto belonging, properly appertained to the L. of Biederode: and although his ancestors haue bin in sute for it, yet hath the L. of Biederode continued still in peaceable possession. Wherefore there can be no matter of treason concluded vpon, in this behalfe: for that talke which they had together, was nothing els but about the fortifying of the sayd Town, but no mention was made of his Maiesties affayres, and this conference was long before the time of these troubles.

As touching the other point, that the Prince suffered the Lorde of Biederode to leuie men of warre at his pleasure, in the Citie of Antwerpe, and sent secretly to Uiane certayne munition against the Dutchesse's Countermaund: The D. answereth, that

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that hee came to Antwerpe, to deliuer the Citie from those Sundayne troubles: and when hee vnderstoode the case, he aduertised the Margrauie thereof, who neuer founde out any thinge of the matter, but onely suche as were sytting at a table, hauing Commission to leuie men, howbeit they secretly got themselues away.

True it is that the Prince offered vnto the Lorde of Brederode, certayne peeces of Artillery that were made at Utright, howbeit this was long before these troubles: and at that time it was about his Maiesties seruice, so that hee coulde not refuse them, seeing that Upane was not farre from Utright, and besides, hee had also required and demaunded them.

And as concerning those pointes, that the Prince should forbid the receiuing of his Maiesties garnisonnes into certayne places and Townes, especially in Zelande, where hee him selfe had sent men of warre to take vp the place, and stoppe his Maiesties enteraunce by sea: As for the garnysonnes, the Prince saith, that he neuer had it once in his thought to forbidde them, and if in case it be true they ought to tell, when, and at what time, and in what place this geare was wrought.

Notwithstanding when he was in Zeeland, he was aduertised, that there was a practise to take Zeelande, if it were possible, which was a matter of great importaunce, and therefore hee commaunded the Lorde of Bortell, that no Garnison shoulde be receiued without his leaue, for that is the maner of all Lieutenants.

But when hee was afterwarde aduertised by the Captayne of the Rammekins, which was vnder his charge, that two hundred of the Dutchesses souldiers were there arriued, requiring to haue the Castle opened vnto them, which the Captayne denied, howbeit hee was afearde of some muteny and sedition, by reason his people were vnpaide, and the Castle but hardly bestead with victualles: hee commaunded him that no man shoulde entre into the Castle, without the Dutchesses commaundement, and his leaue: whereof the Dutchesse being aduertised, was well pleased, and sent them their pay: although the Dutchesse had been before other wise informed, whiles shee lay at Buxelles, and he in Antwerpe: and if the saide souldiers had entered

entred the Castle, he must haue answered it. Moreouer, þ̄ Antwerpians desired þ̄ they might haue no garnisons thrust into their Citie, promising to be alwayes obedient vnto his Ma. and neither spare body nor goods to doe him seruice, no not once to hinder him in these affayres. It is very true that certeine small vessels were laden with souldiers to come to Antwerpe, who for the common quiet of the City could not bee suffered to enter, wherefore they sayled towardes Zeland, where they were forbidden & stayed for comming on land: Insomuch, that they enforced through famine, to returne to Antwerpe, and as it is sayde, that as they were in þ̄ L. of Brederoode his seruice, being about a mile from Antwerpe, to wit, at Easterwell, and comming on lande, were there discomfited. When the reformed Churches of Antwerpe heard of this, they armed themselves to help the said souldiers: which caused a great alarme within the citie, so that the Prince in the ende appeased the same, without the effusion of any citizens blood. By which hee gaue them to vnderstand, that he neuer pretended to accept any thing in Zealand, which might any way tend to the hinderance of any of his maiesties deuises & practises.

But in that he would not receiue garnisons into the country, and towne, he did that for the auoiding of all dissention, and to keepe the subiects in peace & vnitie. Wherefore the prince greatly marueileth that such great learned men, as would be so well thought of, would set downe and propound such matters, as neuer can nor shalbe any way verified.

There is besides in the Articles of this inditement declared, that the prince was sent to Antwerpe to appease the troubles, but that he suffered the exercise of all hereticall Sectes indifferently.

Wherunto he answereth, That hee expressely tolde the Counsell, that it was impossible for him to stay those of the religion: notwithstanding that he would be as carefull to do what so euer lay in him to be done as a man mought be: Insomuch that all the Townsmen gaue him great thanks, for the appeasing of the troubles through his aduise and counsell. The Magistrate of the Citie, and not he, suffered the building of the Churches, and the exercise of the religion, for the auoyding of a
grea

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greater offence and mischief.

The Consistories were ordeyned before he came thither : yea euen before the publique preachings : and to meete from thenceforth with al troubles, he permitted them a way or meane, whereby all the circumstaunces of the assayres that might suddenly happen, might be talked vpon and dealt withall: and did not belieue that his Maiestie by this occasion coulde any way be endemitted, seeing it serued more for the keeping of his subiects in peace and tranquillitie.

For the last Article, where it is sayde, that hee shoulde ordeyne impositions and exactions, or leuie money for the paying of souldiers : hee sayeth, That he neyther ordeyned impositions, nor yet leuied money : But that that whiche was therein done, had beene done before hee came there, for the maintenaunce of the poore, and of the ministers, and for the building of their Churches: wherefore it is very apparant and probable, that this money was not employed about his profit.

Whereby also may very well be perceyued, that his meaning was not to impose any exactions, when as hee refused fiftie thousand Florines which were franckly offered him, for the good seruice which hee had done. It was impossible to stoppe suche a thing, in suche a citie of Marchandize as Antwerpe, seeing that there is dayly greate summes of money disbursed and layde out for diuers and sundry thinges. Wherefore by these reasons aforesayde is sufficiently set downe, that he was not the Author of the troubles.

These woordes and speeches may suffice for the excuse and defence of the Prince of Orange : with the which also accordeth the excuse and defence of the L. of Hooghstrate, sauing that he hath answered, as thou hast hearde vpon other pointes and articles, as before hath been declared.

Whitherto haue wee orderly set downe and declared, in what sort the Duke of Alua arriued in the lowe Countreys, with his men of warre, and of his whole proceedings therein: And likewise howe the Prince of Orange withdrew himselfe, and procured all men to prepare for souldiers both on horsebacke and on foote, to y end to withstand the fury of the bloody tyrant the D. of Alua: who for y defence against y inuasion of his enemies, put
him

him selfe in armes, and prouided men of warre, not onely within the Countrey, but also without, because he greatly presumed that the banished Lords, and the rest that were fledde, would giue an attempt to returne into their possessions and enheritances: so that, all his care was, how he might be able to hurte the enemy.

And as the Duke of Alua had made all the prouision y^e might be for the warres to come, he caused all the goods, debtes, titles, and actions of the fugitiues and banished men, to be confisked, hauing made commissioners for the very purpose, who were bound to aunswere to the hands of the ordinary Judge, to deliuer the money into the Treasurer of the warres possession, for the paying of the souldiers and horsemen which were to be vsed about those warres: which was the way to hurt his enemy, and to spare his maiesties purse.ouer and besides, hee imposed great exactions & tollages, and leuied wonderfull summes of money vpon his maiesties credite, for the paying of y^e garnisons, the building of castles, & for the fortifying of the fronter & border townes of the countrie: and to haue continuall store of money for all occurrants whatsoeuer.

On the other side, The Prince of Orange beeyng driuen out of these countries, and spoyled of his goods, not meanyng to do as the rest of the counties had done, knew none other better way, then to excuse himselfe towards his king and prince: & implored and pitifully besought the aide of other potentates, to bee his intercessours in that behalfe.

And although the Emperour him selfe had done therein as muche as hee coulde, yet woulde not the king once listen to him, nor yet vnderstande the matter: But put ouer the Prince vnto the Duke of Alua to bee ordered by him, which thing he thought would neither bee good nor profitable for him, and therefore was of necessitie driuen to enter into armes with the ayde of his kinsfolkes, friends, and fauourers, as well Germaines, as the lowe Countrey men.

Moreouer, all such as tooke part with him, and as yet remained vnder the poke of the Spaniardes, furnished him with all the money they were able to make, because they hoped thereby to recouer their lost libertie. Now, when the Prince was

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was thus provided, he, by his brother Count Lodwicks helpe, procured an armie of footemen and horsemen, and for the better furthering of the cause, the Prince wrote to all the Princes and Lordes, complayning him selfe vnto them, of the tyrannie and extreeme wrong of the Duke of Alua, that hee had spoyled him of his goodes, bereaued him of his manners, landes, and tene-mentes, and contray to all right and equitie, had taken away the Count of Buren his sonne, and sent him ouer into Spaine.

The Princes of Germanie were greatly displeased that the lowe Countreys shoulde thus bee oppressed by a tyrannous Spaniarde and Straunger: and therefore they assembled them selues together, to consulte and deuise whiche way was best for them, to helpe the prince of Orange.

The Day following, there was mustering of souldiers in euery place: But when the Duke of Alua hearde of it, he tooke order for the matter, and gotte him into the playne fielde: In somuch that they which had first assembled them selues beyonde the Raze, and afterwarde about Dalham, which is a little towne in the Countrey of Iussliers, whose chiefe & Captayn was the Lord of Hooghstrate, were by the Duke of Alua his people discomfited, and a thousande souldiers slayne: not regarding that they had committed that fact, within the Lande and iurisdiction of the Emppye: Howebeit it is the naturall condition and propertie of Spaniards and Italians to bee alwayes too too proude, and thinke them selues better then all other nations: For it so fell out euen at that present, as that the gouernour of Binilberge and his Lieutenant who were come to Dalham to admonishe and summon the fugitiues and banished men to depart out of the borders of the Duke of Iussliers his Lord and Master, were there murdered and slayne as if they had been enemies.

Notwithstanding all this, they which escaped and remained were no whitte the more discouraged thereby, but inuaded his Maiesties lowe Countreys with Duke Lodwike, and for the encouraging of the people agaynst the Spaniardes, they were very well appoynted and fortified, and of all handes bestirred them, intending to goe on with these warres, for the exercise of religion, the defence of the priuiledges of the lowe Countreys,

treys, and for the restoring of the banished men and fugitives, into their ancient possession and inheritance : whiche was the cause that some of them bare in their ensignes, this deuise or posse, Recuperare, aut mori, that is to say: wee will eyther recouer our losse, or els lose our liues.

Wherefore many of the people assembled them selues in all quarters, in so much that Count Lodwycke finding him selfe well strengthened, tooke many townes and places, The first of which, was the Castle of Medde, and after that, the Damme, in the Countrey of Groening.

Nowe when the Duke of Alua hearde of this, hee waxed fharke madde, and doubting that his iolly felicitie might turne to to great miserie: hee woulde in no wise giue Count Lodwicke any time to fortifie in that place, but sent thither Sardigne his Regiment or Tertio, with the Maister of his Campe, and three ensignes of the Regiment or Tertio of Lombardes, and foure hundred Spanishe and Italian horse, and the Count Pegue with a iolly company of souldiers.

And ouer and besides, fve companies of the Regiment of the Count of Arenbergue. Howebeit all these people could doe Counte Lodwicke no hurte, because his armie dayly encreased.

The Duke of Alua sent thither Sir John of Ligny Count Arenbergue, who was newly come out of Fraunce, with a Regiment of Spaniardes, and fve ensignes of Almaynes, to set vpon the enemye, whiche hee did in deede, but to his great losse, before the Count Pegue was come.

The first skymishe was very brauely handled, in a place where a thousande shot of the Count Passous lay in wayte for the comming of the Count Arenbergue : Howebeit the night separated them, and the Spaniardes rettyed vnto their Campe: but the Count Passou in the night rayled his Campe. When the day was come, the Spaniardes thought that the Count Passou and his people had fled, and therefore, they followed them. But when Count Lodwicke vnderstoode, that there were no more horsemen but Curtius Martinengo his bande, hee charged the Count Arenbergue with three hundred horses, and ouerthrewe tenne ensignes of Spaniardes, and fve companies of Al-

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maynes.

The Count of
Arenbergue
slayne.

Count Adolfe of
Rassou slayne.

The Count of Arenbergue for the sauing of his honour, defended him selfe valiantly: Howebeit his horse was slayne vnder him, and he falling to the grounde, was suddenly surprised by a shotte and slayne, notwithstanding that he cryed out and sayde, saue my life, for I am a Count, but all would not serue, and so his noble blood was there splite. Certayne of the Spaniardes fledde vnto a Monastery not farre from the place where the ouerthrowe was giuen, called Heiligher Lee, to hide and saue them selues: Howebeit they were forthwith sette vpon, where, at the very first assault was slayn Count Adolfe of Nassou, count Lodwicke his brother, and his Chauncelor: The rest of the Spaniardes and Almaynes saued them selues in the towne of Groening. By this ouerthrowe, the Duke of Alua lost sixe peeces of great Ordnance with all their munition, but chiefly the count of Arenbergue, who was all his comfort.

Duer and besides the great store of money, which they had brought with them for the paying of their souldiers, their plate and other ritches, which the Nassouans made good butin of. This battell was fought the 23. of May 1568. betweene Heiligher Lee, and Winschote in Friselande. The Count of Arenbergue was buried in the Church of the saide Monasterie, and the Count Adolfe at Melden.

The 29. of May the Duke of Alua caused a Proclamation to bee placlaymed at Bruxelles: That all such as were departed their Countrey, shoulde returne to their place of abode, vpon payne of confiscation both of body and goodes. The welthie fugitiues, were expressely named, howebeit fewe or none returned, because they hoped of a better way, and a more conuenient time to do it.

This discomfiture greatly greened the Duke of Alua, but hee was auenged for it vpon the noble men, and Gentlemen, and other welthie Citizens whome he had in prison, whose liues he tooke away.

The tyrannie of
the Duke of
Alua.

For the first day of Iune, he caused eighteene Gentlemens heads to be striken off in the Horsemarket at Bruxelles: to wit, Gylbert and Thierry of Batenbourgh Barons, Peter de Andelot, Philip de Winglen, Maximilian Cocke, Philip Triest a Gar-
tois,

tois, Iohn de Blays, Bortholomew de Val, Sir Beyma a gentleman of Friseland, and Harman Galama a gentleman of Friselande also, James de Pentan, Ferdinand Peletier, Constantine of Bruxelles, Iohn de Rumaul, Lewis Carlier of Cambray, Peter and Philip de Alcz, byethen.

The next day beeing the seconde of Iune, were put to death, the Lorde of Uilers, and the Lorde of Due, who were taken at the ouerthrowe of Dalham, Quintin Benit, and a minister of the worde, named Cornille Ryeen, a very learned and famous doctoꝝ: vpon all these persons aforesayde vomited he by his choloꝝ.

The thirde of the saide moneth hee caused to bee brought forth the Count Egmond and Philippe de Memorencie count of Hoꝝne, knights of the order, two very famous gentlemen, both foꝝ their language and honour, as also foꝝ their notable feates of armes: especially the Count Egmonde, foꝝ the good seruice which he had done his Maiestie in the viage to Saint Quintins, where the Constable, and many other Frenche noble men were taken: and afterwarde in the voiage to Groening, where hee valiantly ouercame the Frenche, to their great losse both of men and other wayes. Howebeit all these his notable, good and faithfull seruices stood him in no stead. These two Countes were brought from Gand to Bruxelles in a wagon, with a conuoye of tenne ensignes of Spantardes, and a bande of Hozses, and ledde to the markette place of Bruxelles, and lodged at an house called the Breadhouse, about thye of the clocke in the after noone: and there were indited and sentence pronounced as followeth.

The Duke of Alua his highnesse, Marques of Coria, gouernour, Lieutenant and Captayne generall foꝝ his Maiestie, our redoubted and beloued Lorde, in his lowe Countreys, and Lorde chiefe Justice in the Counsaile of life and death ouer his Maiesties prisonners: hauing seene the Attorney generall his declaration and information, and also the mynutes, documentes, depositions, and letters by him exhibited, but especially the confession and propositions of the prisonners, their answeres and defence, and the billes by them exhibited, by which the L. that are

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in pryson hope to bee iudged guiltlesse men , and bee released of their imprisonment.

And besides , howe the Attorney generall by his declaration, chargeth the sayde prysonners, to witte, that the Count of Egmonde hath shewed him selfe to bee a pernicious forsworne man, and a seditious rebell against his Maestie , especially in that he hath conspired with the confederats and seditious people, and become a companion of the cursed and abhominable league with the Prince of Orange and the rest of the Estates, who were coniuured in the lowe Countreys : and taken vpon him the guarding and defending of the confedered nobilitie : and likewise the faultes and offences committed by the Counte Egmonde in his Gouvernement of Flaunders, in the obseruation of our holy Catholike fayth, and the defence thereof agaynst heretikes, and seditious rebelles, of the holy Romishe Catholike religion: All these and other matters being well and thoroughly considered of his highnesse, after long deliberation with his counsellours at lawe, vpon the generall Attorneys determination and conclusion : declareth that the Count of Egmond hath committed high treason, and is a Rebell : and therefore shall bee beheaded , and his head bee set vpon a common hie stake, that it may bee an example for all men to looke vpon : where it shall still stande vntill suche tyme as other order be taken therein.

Whiche shall bee for a learning and signe of the offence that the sayde Count hath committed, and that none bee once so hardie to take away the head, vpon payne and perill of his lyfe. And declareth also that all his moueable and vnmoueable goodes, his actions, titles and interestes, priuiledges, royalties, and whatsoever goods els to be confisked.

This sentence was pronounced the 4 of June 1568. And subsigned, Duke de Alua. Which sentence was pronounced to the Counsell by secretary Prat.

The sentence pronounced agaynst the Counte Horne agreeth in euery pointe with the former , excepte the Article of the mayntenaunce of the confederates : and the Actes committed agaynst the auncient Catholique fayth. When these sentences were pronounced and set downe in wytyng , they were

were sent to the sayde Countes.

The principall causes whiche mooued the Duke of Alua to doe this, are these: when the souldiers were by the sayde vnlooked for discomfiture, brought into great feare, as before is sayde: he purposed to goe into the fildes in proper person, and proceede on with those warres. Howe this matter coulde not well bee brought to passe, without he caried with him all his men of war: But if hee did so, hee then feared some rebellion woulde ensue all the lowe Countreys ouer, by reason of the murders, effusion of blood, persecutions, and spoyles, which both hee and his had committed: and also because of the great reputation of these two Countes. For hee doubted that the common people woulde deliuer these two noble men out of prison, by reason of the great affection which all men beare them: and although he shoulde haue leaft souldiers to garde them, yet halfe the Spaniardes woulde not haue suffised: and therefore for the putting away of all feare and daunger, hee knewe no better way to serue his turne, then the putting of these two Countes to death.

The principall
cause of the put-
ting to death of
the Countes of
Egmond and
Hoerne.

It is commonly hyted: That the Prince of Orange had forgetolde the Count Egmond his death, at Willebrooke, when hee was aduertised of the comming of the Spaniardes out of Spayne, by these or such like woordes: You shall bee the Bridge ouer which the Spaniardes shall passe, but you shall be the firste that shall repent it: for, by the Spaniardes shall the Bridge bee destroyed.

The prince of
Oranges pro-
phesie vpon
count Egmond

And after this also, the Lorde God gaue him a sufficient signe and token on Corpus Christi day in Antwerpe, when as in his returne from the Court, two great Dastpues playing together, ranne right before the mynte, and were both at once, vnder his horse belly, so that the horse foundred with al, & fel to the ground, and hee with the fall, had his shoulder as it were soze hyused, not without danger of his life.

And besides this, the saide Count woulde by no meanes away, although he was tolde before, that hee shoulde be brought to the whistle, or daunce after their pipe, and so bee masht in the net, by fayre speeches, great gyftes, and promises, that were giuen and made him, the last time hee came out of Spayne.

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The Count of
Egmond his
answere vnto
the sentence.

But nowe to retorne to my first matters whiche I was in hande withall, when the Count of Egmond hearde of this seuerer sentence, hee saide, Cruely, this is an harde iudgement: I do not beleuee that euer in all my life I haue so offended his Maiestie, as to haue deserued so seuerer sentence: Neuer the lesse if so be that I haue offended, I beseeche the Lorde that my death may take away all my sinnes, to the ende that neyther I nor none of mine be any more dishonored, and that my deare wife and feare, and my innocent childzen suffer no more torment, after that my bodie and goods shall bee confiscated: my good seruices haue deserued, not to haue any such grace granted vnto me: But sith it is his pleasure of almightie God, and my Lord the king, that thus it shalbe, I will patiently suffer death. And afterwarde he wrote vnto the king this letter.

The Count
Egmonds his
letter to the
king.

I haue hearde the decree of your Maiesties sentence giuen vpon mee, although I neuer eyther ment or thought to commit any thing that might be hurtfull vnto your person, seruice, or the ancient Catholike religion: But I take in good parte what so euer it shall please the Lorde to lay vpon mee: and if I haue during these troubles in the lowe Countreys any way offended, or suffered any thing that might haue happened to others and not to my selfe, the same hath come from a loyall and faithfull heart, to the honour of God, your Maiesties seruice, and as the time required.

Wherefore I most humbly beseeche your Maiestie, that if it so bee, that I haue any way offended you, to pardon and forgive me, and haue pittie on my deare wife, my innocent childzen, and my pooer seruantes, commending my selfe for the present to the mercie of God.

Giuen at Bruxelles the 5. of June 1568. subscribed.

Prepared to die,

Amurathes de Egmond.

When the Count of Egmond had written and sealed by this letter, hee deliuered it to the Bishoppe of Wyre, beseeching him that hee woulde sende it to his Maiestie, which the Bishop

shop promised vpon his fayth to doe, and so performed it.

The Count of Hornes woulde not from the beginning be shruen by the Bishop, saying: I haue made my confession vnto God: Neuer thelesse at the great entreatie of the Bysshop, hee in the ende was shruen of him.

Vpon Whitson eue in the morning, the Count Egmond boldly called vpon them, that he might finishe his dayes, seeing it was neyther good nor profitable, for a condemned man to remaine long tyme in suspense, in the tormente and anguise of death. And about Noone the Count Egmond was brought vnto the great market place, accompanied with the Bysshop of Pyre and other Church men: after them followed the Maister of the Campe to the Spaniardes, and Captayne Salines with nyenteene ensignes of Spaniardes, who marched on in order of battayle very well appointed, for the staying of all disorders and troubles, or for defence, if any of the Citizens shoulde haply make any stirre by reason of the sayde Count. The Count was not bounde nor manacled, neyther yet guarded nor helde by any of the Seriauntes: For he had promised in the fayth of a knight that he woulde goe quietly to the place of execucion.

In the market place was a Scaffoulde set vp, couered all ouer with black cloth, and aboue vpon it, two blacke Cushins, and two long yron poles. Below the Scaffolde was the knight Marshall carrying a red wande in his hande, and the Hangman vpon the Scaffolde. The Count aforesayde went vp with the Bysshoppe, and kneeling vpon a Cushin, after he had a while talked with the Bysshoppe, the hangman according to the maner be sought him of Pardon, and the Bysshoppe withdrawing him behinde the Count, the Count, after he had cast off his nyght gown of redde Damaske and his velvet cloake layde on with parchment lace of Golde, and his blacke cappe garnished with white feathers, couered his owne face with a Coyffe which he ware vnder his Cappe.

Then, hee ioyning his handes together, and kissing the Crosse, recommended him selfe to the mercie of God, looking for death.

The bodie was forth with put into a Coffen, and the place stayned with his blood, was couered with a blacke cloth.

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When this was done, the Count horne was brought forth who besought **G D D** to forgive him his sinnes, and wished all blessed felicitie to al the standers by, taking his leaue of them: and pulling a wimple ouer his eyes, after hee had layde downe his veluet Cloake, was executed as the other Count was.

When this execution was accomplished, the Spaniardes retyred from the market place, sauing two ensignes that kept the heades, which were set vpon the two iron poles: which were taken away about thre of the clocke in the after noone, and laide with their bodies.

Nowe Egmonds bodie was caried to Saint Clares Abbay, and Hornes, to the Cathedrall Church, and buried amongst their predecessors tombes.

The Count Egmonde his seruantes had according to the custome nayled by his armes at his Court gate, but the Duke of Alua caused them to bee taken downe immediatly. All the worlde greatly complayned the death of the sayde Count, and merueilously mourned for him.

These two Countes from the beginning tooke exceptions to Iohn du Boyes attourney generall, as an vnlawfull Iudge, and therein continued: For, they being Knightes of the order, coulde not be condemned nor iudged, but by the Knightes of the same order: Neuerthelesse the Duke of Alua, hauing thereto no regarde, proceeded on, & caused the sayde sentence to be pronounced.

Many great men in aucthoritie, and learned, and infinite number of others were marueylously abashed at this cruell sentence and execution, pronounced and executed against the lawes and priuileges not onely of knightes of the order, but also against all the whole lowe Countreys, yea against all ciuile and common lawe, seeing that the Count Egmond his arraignment had not the full and ryght course of the lawe in such a case provided: Neuerthelesse, they whiche nowe had the coppe of the resolution of the Inquisition of Spayne, giuen by information, which was taken by the Inquisitours here aboutes and sent ouer into Spaine: which resolution, was graunted in the citie of Madrid the sixt of Februarie 1568. and besides, the sentence that his Maiestie pronounced in the sayde Citie the 26.

of the said moneth ensuyng, may cleerely perceiue, from whence this tyrannie and iniustice had they first beginning: and no whit maruell, at all the tyrannie which the said Duke of Alua committed: But a great deale the rather maruell, that there should or coulde bee yet, euen at this present, suche a number of men in the lowe countries so fauouring the Spaniards, as that they will put in aduenture they bodies and goods for defence of they quarrell, & bypnyng them in yet once again, to haue the gouernement of the lowe countries seeing that not one of them, more then any of the rest, shall be exempted from their tyranny, as may manifestly appeare by the said resolution and sentence, the tenure wherof ensuech.

A resolution of the office against the people
of the lowe Countries.

The office of the most holy and sacred Inquisition, requireth in the presence of his royall maiestie, to speak, and resolute, ly set downe somewhat of the abhominable offence of Apostasie and heresie, committed by his maiesties subiects in the low countries: after it had seene and diligently considered, as well of his maiesties information on those thinges: as also bypon the viewe of the letters, mynutes, auentique documēts, or instructions worthie the credit, annexed to the said information, & by the officers of the sacred holy inquisition, faithfully sent ouer from the low countries: saith, and fully resoluech byō that, which toucheth the diuine and holy profession, and conscience: That all and euery subiect of the said lowe countries, and the whole copporation and body of them (except onely such as are seuerally noted in the information) as wel in regard of such as are publique and manifest Apostates, heretikes, and backeslyders from God, our mother holy Churche, and commandement of the catholike king, and his obedience, as also in respect of the rest of the counterfet catholikes, haue not done they due tie, wherein, both towards God, and his maiestie, in respect of the catholike religion, and the oth which they haue made, they are and oughe to bee bounde to haue withstood, with all their power & myghte all open and manifest Apostates, heretikes, and rebels, and haue

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suppresse their wicked and cursed faction, which, at the first beginning of the troubles they might easily haue done: But contrariwise they forboze so godly and holy a resistance, & therefore are worthe to be iudged to bee partakers and fauourers of open and manifest Apostates, heretikes and rebels. Certaine also of the Nobilitie, and in the name of subiects, exhibyting bylles of complaine and supplications against the most holy Inquisition haue craftily enflamed, and encouraged the Peretikes, Apostates, and Rebels, and therefore, haue all offended in the highest degree of treason. And thus it is saide, and fully determined vpon, in the Citie of Madrid the sixteenth of Februarie. 1568.

When his royall maiestie had seene the Infozmation drawē, and by his commaundement receiued, vpon the cursed offence of Apostasies, Heresies, and rebellions, committed by his subiects of the lowe Countries: and had likewise seene the minutes and autentique instructions worthe credite, annexed vnto the saide Infozmation, and faithfully sent ouer by the officers of the sacred and holy Inquisition of the lowe Countries: and had besides seene the holy aduise of the office of the sacred holy Inquisition with the wise reasons which were there thrust in: concerning the adiministration of lawe and iustice, & thereby for that purpose, to vse his kingly and absolute power and might,

Sayeth and decreeth: That all and euery subiect of the sayde lowe Countries, and all bodie corporate and polytike of the same (those onely excepted whiche in the sayde Infozmation are noted, whose names wee will in tyme and place commaunde to bee put into our Treasurie Courte of our lowe Countries) as well for theyr publique and manifest Apostasie, heresie, and falling away from God, our mother holye Church, and hys Catholike commandement and obedience: as also in respect of the vnduetyfull dealing of those counterfaite Catholikes whiche were amongst them, wherein notwithstanding, both towarde God and his maiestie, in regarde of the catholike religion and their othe, they are and were bound to haue resisted all publique and manifest Apostates, heretikes, and rebels,

bels, with all theyr mayne power, and force, and suppressed theyr wickednesse: which at the first beginning of the troubles and commotions, they myght with ease lawfully haue done: But they heerein contrariwise did vtterly forbear this so holy a resistance and suppression, and greatly reioyced therein, and therefore are of right to bee iudged the fauourers, and procurers of the saide publike and manifest Apostates, heretikes and rebels.

They also, who vnder the name of the nobilitie and subiects, hauing exhibited supplications and billes of complaint against the most holy Inquisition, and hauing thereby, vnder the pretence of godlines inflamed and incouraged the heartes and mindes of Apostates, heretikes, and rebels: haue committed the detestable offence of treason and therefore, to bee all condemned, without respect, eyther of sexe or age, in such paynes and punishment as the lawe hath ordeined against backsliders. Wherefore his maiestie willeth and commaundeth, who, by so seuerer sentence, pretendeth to shewe some feareful example for the terrifying of all posteritie hereafter to come: That the paynes and punishments of this seuerer sentence shall without any hope of fauour, grace, forbearing, or winkynge at, take full force and effect: But yet, in suche order and maner, as shall in tyme and place bee reuealed and manifested in thee, of our lowe countries. And thus is it determined and iudged in the Citie of Madrid, the 26. of February. 1568.

Let vs now come againe to our first matter: after that the Count Lodwike of Nassau had gotten the victorie against the Spaniardes, hee diuided his souldiers into two companies, and besieged the towne of Groening on both sides, not without the great wonder of the whole world, in that he durst without munition take vpon him to set vpon such a towne so strongly fortified with walles and rampares, and so well victualed.

The Counte Megue was in the saide towne with eyght ensignes of Almaynes, and a thousande Spaniardes: and Curtins Martinengo with three hundred horse.

The Townes men oftentimes sallied out, and skirmished,

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but chiefly the 22. of June when as the besiegeants were gotten into certaine of the ditches, to trench. The horsemen were very forward, when as the Nassouans were busie to hynder the building of the fort or trench, and made liuely skirmishes, so þ of the Nassouans were slaine about two hundred, and so were in lyke sort a good many of Spaniards. Captaine Martinengo also was in great perill of loosing his life, by reason that his horse was gotten into a quackmyre. There was likewise one of the Gueles taken, who, as himselfe confessed, meant to set on fire diuers places of the town: to the end that when the Citizens haue beene busied about the quenching of the fire, the Nassouans might the better haue scaled and wonne the towne. Whiche Guele was hanged by the appointmente of Captaine Albanzo.

During these exploits, Chiapin Vitelli had assembled as many men as he possibly could, and whiles the Duke of Alua was preparing of his things, he erected also his campe before the said towne of Groening for the defence thereof, and the drying a way of the Nassouans, but it was all in vaine. There were then many skirmishes, & many stratagemes and warrelike policies. Counte Lodwike at one tyme offered captaine Vitelli the battaile, but he would none of it: saying, That he had not as yet any opportunitie, because he still attended the Duke of Alua his coming with his armie.

The Emperour, at the Duke of Alua his request, sent to Count Lodwike, and commanded him vpon paine of banishing the Emperre, to rayse his campe from before the towne, and to get him out of the Countrie with as litle hurt doing as was possible.

Duke Lodwike
his answer to
the Emperour.

Count Lodwike sent him worde againe, That hee could not doe it before such time as he had aduertised the prince of Orange, and the rest of the Princes and Potentates his confederates thereof, and that then hee would make hym a short answer. Notwithstanding many of the Noble men of the Emperre were afraide of this message, and thereupon returned home into theyr owne countries.

Howbeit this siege of Groening continued vntill the coming of the Duke of Alua, who, whiles hee was making of preparation,

preparation, executed at Bruxelles many prisoners, as hath beene before saide, and in the moneth of July marched towardes Boisleduke, with seuentene ensignes of footemen, and certain great ordnance which came from Malynes: so that hee encamped himselfe before Groening the fourteenth of the sayde moneth.

When Count Lodwike hearde of this, hee raysed his campe, and retyred towardes Embden, making hauocke of all thinges in his passage, breaking downe of bridges, and marryng the high wayes, for the staying and backe keeping of the enemye, but not without continuall skirmishing. The Duke of Alua had sent Duke Erycke with his horsemen to Groening, because the territory about the towne was moyst and soft, so that the horsemen coulde not passe it: and hee himselfe with his foote men pursued Count Lodwike, hauing espials euery where to aduertise him out of what quarter of the countrie counte Lodwike meant to goe.

Count Lodwike
raiseth his
campe.

At last, the Duke was aduertised that counte Lodwike stayed at Lemming, in the count of Embden his dominions, and had there pitched his campe, beeing a fit place for intrenching, considering that on the one side hee had water enough, and on the other, he had the tolly citie of Embden, to furnish his campe with victuals and all other necessary prouision.

When the Duke of Alua was heereof thoroughly aduertised, hee caused his army to marche towardes counte Nassou his campe, and sent before him, captaine Sancho de Auila, and captaine Mentero to holde them play and apply them with skirmishes, thereby to withdraue the Nassouans from the commodious place wherein they were. And after him, he sent Iulian Romero, master of the campe with five hundred harquebuziers & three hundred musketiers. After him, followed Don Sanches de Lodogno with a thousande harquebuziers, appointed for two wings of footemen: and Caesar Gonzage & Martinengo with two bands of horse men: the rest of the vauntguard were vnder the conduct of Alfonse de Vlloa, and Don Consaluo de Bracamont, with expresse commandement, that none of those souldiers should otherwise be placed. In the reareward were specially appointed sixe ensignes of Almains, and after them fiftene ensignes.

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signes of Mallons : who followed the light horse one by one: For the passage was very straight, and full of water on eyther side.

When the Nassouans sawe the mightie armie of the Duke of Alua, in steed of shewing themselues valiant and courageous they beganne to crie out, Honey, money, and woulde not once fight, shewing themselues to be neyther of valure, nor yet wise, and they who shoulde not haue fought for money, but for the defence of religion, durst not nowe once put in hazard their liues, eyther for theyr countrie, or yet for religion. Whiche thinge when the Duke of Alua sawe, and consideryng of theyr pusillanimitie or faint heartednesse, set vpon count Nassou his campe about ten of the clocke in the morning, and so put them to flight, and in killyng of a certaine number, he paid them the wages which count Lodwike ought them, Howbeit, many of them were saued in passing the ryuer of Embden by boate : and especially the most valiant count Lodwike, and some of the noble men escaped the tyrants handes, notwithstanding that hee stood to his defence euen to the last man: for when he saw that his souldiers would not fight, hee saued himself with great peryll of his life, by passing the riuer in a very small boat. The count of Hoogstrate was but two dayes before gone from the campe, and count Iuste of Scouwenbourgh, saued himselfe and the greater number of his horsemen at the begynning of the battaile, when he perceiued the souldiers would not fight, but called still for money.

When the Duke of Alua had gotten this victorie, he wrote the particularities of this battaile vnto John bishop of Munster, who was the chiefe within the compasse of Westphalia: by whiche letter the sayd Duke complained of the wrong which counte Lodwike had done, that he woulde haue no peace, and contemned the Emperours message : and excused himselfe of that, that hee had burdened and endamaged the count Embden, by the entring of souldiers, laying all the blame on the count Embden, who had holpen count Lodwike with victuals, and shewed him selfe in very deede, the king of Spaines enemye, seeing hee had, duryng the tyme of the Battaille, discharged vpon the Spaniardes certayne great ordnance out of the shippes,

After

The Duke of
Alua writeth to
Bishop of
Munster.

After this great victorie, the Duke of Alua tooke his way by Amstelredame towardes Vtright, where hee cut off the head of one of Duke Lodwikes captaines whom hee had taken prisoner.

The twentieth of July the Prince of Orange by an Apologie and certaine publique writings, declared the occasion, cause, and necessitie, which enforced his excellencie, his friends, and the confedered noble men, to take armes against the Duke of Alua and his adherentes: to wit, by reason of his horrible and detestable tyranny and persecution, against the poore and blameless professours of the worde of God, and of the holy Gospell, and also against the generall Estates of the lowe countries, to the better rooting out and desolation: but because the saide Apologie hath oftentimes beene printed, and thereby gotten into the handes of all the worlde, wee haue not here for breuitie sake put it in.

The prince publisheth his defence.

Wee haue heeretofore saide howe that the prince of Orange had waged a great many both foote men and horsemen: who being arriued about y^e monasterie of Romerstorf, in y^e countrie of Treues, remained there vnto the ende of the moneth, to the great hurt of the countrie men. The captaines of the horsemen, were Fredericke de Rolhuysen, Marshall of Hessen, who was a famous man in y^e French wars 1562. Thierry of Schonbrough count Iust of Schuwenbrough, count Albert of Nassau, counte Burchart of Barby, Ottho of Malsbrough, Herman Riedesal, and Adam Welles.

The Colonels of the foot men, were Nicholas of Harstadt, a man of an auncient and noble house, an expert man of war, and for his valure very famous, Feye Schooner, and Balthazar of Woluen. The French captaines were, Ienlis, Moruillier, the baron of Renty, Mouy, Antrycourt, Esternay, the parson, and others, of twelue bands of horse, and a thousande harquebuziers. Captayne Poyer, was also a captaine of souldiers. With these also ioyned counte Lodwike after his discomfiture at Lemmigen.

In the beginning of September, the prince caused y^e campe to marche on, after that they had made a generall muster, and passed the Rhine at Saint Vir, a towne within his iurisdiction.

The

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**The armie of
the Prince.**

The Princes armie was 44. ensignes of Almaynes, foure thousande French and Wallons, the most of them shot, and 7. thousand horse men well armed, som of the foot men had in theyr ensignes this possie, Pro lege, grege, & rege: That is to say, for the lawe, the people, and the king. Some beare the Pellican, by reason of the loue shee beareth to her young ones, nourishyng them with the blood which issueth out of her hurt brest. Upon theyr Banners were roses painted, an olde Englishe deuise, as if the Queene of England had assisted them. Duer and besides, the prince had ten peeces of ordnance, sixe faucous, and four canons, but small prouision of munition: and this was in haruest, a very moyst and raynie season, and therefore very vnfit to marche with so great an armie.

When the Duke of Alua had heard these newes at Vright, he mustered his people. The Colonel of the Alamaines, were the Count Lodyon, and count Phillip of Ouerstein. Duer and besides, hee had fortie ensignes of Spaniards, and fortie ensignes of Wallons, sauing those that lay in garnison in the townes & castles, who, for y more part were, Spaniards, & who he most trusted. Hee had also foure thousande horse of Spaniards Italians, Almaynes, Burgonions, and others. With this armie hee encamped before Maltright to stay the enemye for passing ouer at the Raze: hee made also a bridge ouer the Raze, that he myght euery way cut the enemye from victuals.

**The prince taketh certayne
places.**

The Prince of Orange tooke by assault Arenberg, and Eppen, two townes standing betweene Coloigne and Duren, and Hormelson also, belonging to king Philip, where his Ma. garnison was slaine, which caused the Duke of Alua to spare none, eyther yet to receiue any to mercie. But as the prince marched still forward, the Duke knew not whether he wold into France, to ayde the Prince of Conde, or whether he would come downe into the lowe countries: howbeit the Princes armie coasted the riuer of Raze euen vnto Stockum, where he passed the ryuer to meete with the Duke of Alua his campe.

Whyle these matters were in hande, the Duke of Alua caused a proclamation to bee made in Antwerpe: that euery man which had, or knew of any goods belongyng to the Gueses, shold tell it to the Worde Treasurer, or to the magistrate and officer of the

the place where those goods were, upon paine that whosoever concealed them, or suffered them to bee carryed out of the Countries, shoulde pay the valure of the saide goods: The one thirde part whereof shoulde bee to the Informer, and the rest confiscated to his maiesties vse: but hee that was not able to restore them, shoulde be arbitrarily punished. This Proclamation caused great mischief.

In the ende of September the Duke of Alua came on Mastricht side. The Liegeois woulde haue taken by a certaine passage for the stopping of the armie: but the Prince marched with his people on the other side: and although there had beene a controuersie betweene y^e bishop and y^e Liegeois, yet they agreed by a cōmon consent to leaue sixe ensignes of men for the defense of the citie.

The fifteenth of October the Orangians discomfited certain ensignes of Aluaianes. But when the Prince had passed the Raze, hee marched forward the twentieth of October, leauing on his right hande the towne Tilmont, and passed the riuer which diuidereth the lande of Lieg from Brabant, seeking all the wayes he could to fight with the enemy: howbeit the Duke of Alua had no will to hazard it, and therfore fearing the Prince of Orange his forces kept himselfe in his trenches before the Citie of Mastricht. But Don Fredericke of Toledo his sonne, came one day out of the campe, with sixe Culuerines, foure thousand shot, and an hundred men at armes, but no great matter was exployted, saue y^e in skirmishing many on both sides were thrust out of wages.

When the Prince sawe that Winter drew neere, and the time passed away, without giuing battaile to the Duke of Alua, who lay in his Trenches before Mastricht, although at the first the Princes armie might haue fought and discomfited the enemy, had it not beene through euill counsell, or els that the Lorde G D D would not suffer it, because hee woulde further punish the lowe countries for their horrible and gricuous sinnes.

But nowe againe to our purpose: the Prince meaning to auoyde the vnprofitable charges in the consuming and spending
 of

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of victuals, money, and munition, thought it the best Councell, to forsake for a time the lowe Countries: and make a voyage into Fraunce: where the Marshall Cosley pursued him with two thousand shot, & two hundred horse, which was to his great hurt. Whiche thing the Marshall dyd at the request of the Duke of Alua, and followed the Prince euen vnto Cambresie.

The Frenche woulde gladly haue had the Germanye horse men to haue come downe into Fraunce: But the greatest number of them returned home into Germanie, for want of pay: and taking their way through Champaigne, entred into Lorayne, and beeing come neere vnto Straesbrough, they diuided themselves, not well pleased with theyr pay, and thus ended this warr betweene the Prince of Orange, and the Duke of Alua: who euer sithence hath continued a more tyrannous persecutor, in murderynge, emprisoning, cuttyng off of heads, hanging, burning, confisking of goods, publishing of Proclamations and Commissions, and byrning in of newe Bishoppes, as at Leuwarde in Friselande, where Cunerus Petri was ordeined the first bishop, the first of February 1568. And after ward were very solemnely ordeined certaine others, in the prouinces of the lowe Countries.

Nowe, this tyrants great persecution and tyrannie aforesaide continued from the yeere 68. vnto the yeere 72. When as the miserable and comfortles inhabitants of the lowe countries, had, through Gods assistance and mercy some ease of their calamities, by reason that the saide Duke obstinately persisted in demanding of the tenth penny, without regard of the complaints of all the Estates of the lowe Countries, thinking thereby to heape by suche an infinite treasure, and keepe a continuall mine of golde and siluer, to withstande all kinges, princes and potentates, that woulde oppose themselves against his vnnaturall tyrannie.

And although the Lorde hath suffered this tyrant to bee a scourge to plague the lowe Countries, which sometimes so notably flourished, yet hath it been to none other end but to aduertise vs, that we in the time of our great prosperitie wallowing and
tume

tumbling in all worldly pleasures, forgot the Lorde our God, and that, forsaking our wicked life, through the chastizement of this rod, wee might frame our selues to newnesse of life, according to his most holy and blessed commandements. For the good God, chastiseth all those whome hee loueth: neither hath these lowe countries been onely so greatly scourged, through the tyrannie of this cruell and vnnaturall monster, but hath also visited them with a most fearefull ouerflowing of waters: Inso-much that the first of Nouember in the yeere 70. were drowned in Hollande, Zealand, Friseland, Gelderland, and others, many thousandes of people, and an innumerable multitude of cattaille for mans sustenance. This wounde (Gentle Reader) is healed, and almost forgotten, but the tyrannie of the Duke of Alua is yet in force.

Wherefore, let vs beseech y^e Lord our God to deliuer vs out of the handes of this tyrant, to the ende wee may serue and honour him in peace and tranquillitie, all the dayes of our life.

And heere an ende of the second
Booke.

K 2

The



The thirde Booke of the Histories of the
troubles in the low Countries, wherin shalbe set downe,
the second inuasion, of the Nobilitie, Gentlemen
and other fugitiues, and banished men
into the same.



In the first and seconde bookes
(Gentle Reader) hath been declar-
ed vnto thee, what hath come to
passe, from the yeere 1566. vnto
the yeere 1572. and the very first
originall of this present warre:
But in this thirde, shall bee des-
cribed all the matters that haue
fallen out from this yeere 72. vn-
to the taking of the Councell of

Estates in Bruxelles, which was put in execution by the Lorde of
Heze, Captaine of the same citie, the 4. of September 1576.
by the ordinance of the Estates of Brabant,

And nowe to continue this our historie, The Duke of Alua
seeing y the Prince with his armie, had forsaken the low Coun-
tries, as a triumphant conquerour: pursued the tyrannous per-
secution which hee had begun against those of the reformed reli-
gion, as more at large is set downe in the booke next before: and
although that in these Countries, the warres were for the space
of foure peeres, suppressed: to wit, from the yeere 1568. vnto
the yeere 1572. Yet haue they not been free from the abundant
spilling of innocent blood, through the horrible furie of this vn-
naturall and cruel tyrant.

But when the Lorde would graunt vs a beginning of our
deliuerance, hee suffered this foresaid Tyrant to abuse hymselfe
through his owne insatiable couetousnes, by demanding of all y
merchandize both going out & coming in vnto these low Coun-
tries, y tenth pennie: & also the xx. pennie of all the vnmoueable
goods y should be sold within y said countries: & although all y
Estates

The duke demā
deth the tenth
pennie.

Estates of the Prouinces tolde him of the inconueniences that might fall out, by reason of this extreme exaction, yet persisted he in his demaunde, thinking that no man durst once gainsaye him, notwithstanding that it was cleane against their Priuiledges. Which thing greatly moued the common people, and the Citizens of all the Cities were maruellously grieued, as wel for the tenth penny which the Duke woulde haue no nay of, as also for the great tyranny hee vsed. Lastly, hee purposed to put this tenth pennye in execution in the Cytie of Bruxelles, where his Court was, thinking that by reason of his presence no manne durst say him naye. But the Bruxellians dyuersely sette them selues against it. For, neyther woulde the Brewers brewe anye drinke, nor yet the Bakers, bake anye bread. To bee shorthe, there arose so greate troubles in this Citie of Bruxelles, as that the Duke him selfe feared the tumulte and furpe of the common people. And therefore the Citizens of Bruxelles are woorthye all honour and prayse, for so boldely defending the Priuiledges of theyr Countrey.

During these troubles in Bruxelles, the common people of the rest of the cities and townes both in Brabant & Flanders, were also troubled: so that the Hollanders and Zelanders begun likewise to rouse themselves out of their sleepe: which made the fugitiues, and banished men to thinke on their businesse, and determined once againe to inuade the low countries, seeing the Inhabitants of the said countries began to oppose themselves against the tyrant.

Wherefore, De Lumay Earle of March being in England, & hauing at his commandement certayne ships, got himself & his retinue to Sea, & vpon the sodaine tooke the Biele a towne in Holland, the 1. of April, 1572. For the saide Count first set the South gate on fire, by meane whereof Inhabitanes kept them selues close in their houses: and in the meane while, the souldiers scaled the towne, and the North gate, and so woon it, & afterwarde brake and destroyed the Images and altars of the Churches.

The Duke of Alua was forthwith aduertised of this sodaine taking, and although the newes pleased him neuer a whit, yet

Biele taken by
the E. of Lumay.

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made he small account of his enemies, because he had continually most victoriously driuen them out of the countrey. Wherefore, he sent two ensignes of Spaniards from Atright to the Biele, to driue out the Gueles: Howbeit the Gueles met them with theyr boates: who discharging their Harquebuzes vpon the Spaniards, and comming on lande, made the Spaniards lustely flye through the myre and dyt, and droue them to Doy-night.

The Count Bossu, hauing the charge of ten ensignes of Spaniards, considering with himselfe that the Gueles would not willingly forsake and lose the Biele, but were rather more like to get many other townes, he therfore came to Rotterdame, willing them that he might passe through the towne: Whiche thing, the Citizens at the first choppe, denied him: neuer thelesse in the end they were contented that his people shoulde passe by Dixaines: but they making hed al at once at the gates, entred together into the towne, and villaynously murdered a great number of the Citizens, and this was done the nienty of Aprill.

1572.

A Massacre in
Rotterdame.

Flushing reuol-
ted.

Three dayes before, whiche was Easter day, the towne of Flushing reuolted, wherein was a garnison of Malonnes. And it so fell out, that as the Citizens were at Church, so daynely there was an vprore, by reason that it was bruted, that the Spaniards were comming to lodge in the Towne: and as the Harbingers were appoynting the lodgings, they pycked a quarrell with one of the Citizens, and gaue him yll language as they coulde well ynough. The Citizens who were at Church hearing of this noyse, came forth, and dyaue the Malonnes cleane out of the Towne, and kepte the gates themselues. When the Spaniards were come before Flushing, they woulde not let them come in, whereuppon, they hearing that the garnison of the Malons were driuen out, tooke their course to Middlebrough, the chiefe citie of the Isle of Walcheren, where they were recepued. Nowe when the Captayne of the Spaniards, who was the Duke of Alua his kinsman, arryued at Flushing, hee thought to haue found the Spaniards there: But the Townes men, who knew wel i-
nough

nough that he was comming, went to meete him, bydding him welcome, and doyng him great honour, as the maner is to honor such noblemen, howbeit that honour lasted not long, for they forthwith layde handes on hym, and hanged him on the gallowes.

And so this towne hath been euer sithence kept for the prince of Orange, which is the chiefe key of the Sea to come into the lowe countries to bee brought into subiection: howbeit it is worthe great commendation, by reason of the noble feates of warre which the Citizens haue exployted against the practizes and stratagemes of the Spaniardes for the defense of the countrie.

The 24. of May following, after that the count Lodwike of Nassou had made a new couenaunt in Fraunce with the confederates, he surpyled Mons in Haynault, after this maner: *Mons in Hay. nault surpyled.* The nyght before, there went into Mons twelue aduenturers apperelled like merchauntes, and beeing at the table in the euening, they asked of the hoste, what tyme in the morning the Gates were opened. The hoste tolde them at foure of the clocke, and if so bee they woulde goe out any timelier, he said that if they woulde giue the porter the wyne, the Gates shoulde bee opened for them as early as they woulde.

These iollye Merchants rose very timely, and caused the Gates to bee opened, promising to giue the Porter a peece of money: But so soone as the Gates were open, they dispatche the Porter with a Pistoll shot, and tooke away the keyes. When the Gates were open, counte Lodwike entred the towne with fortie men, and placed them at the corners of the streetes: and if any man went about to open eyther doze or window, they would discharge their Pistols on the, crying together with one voyce: you haue libertie, libertie, graunted you, the Prince of Orange is come to ayde you, and you shall bee set free from the tenth pennie, and all other charges, wherewith the Duke of Alua woulde burden you. This cry dured certaine houres, with such a marueilous noyse, as if thousands of souldiers had entred the towne.

But count Lodwike hauing long time tarried for his people,

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and sawe that none of them came, hee himselfe went out, to vnderstand the cause of theyr so long tarrying, and what were become of the horse men: but they were out of þ way in the woods, from whence the Count Lodwike conducted them vnto þ towne of Mons, to the number of fūe hundred, and euery man a shot behinde him : who beeing entred the towne, first tooke the Towne house, and set themselves in order of battaile : In this sorte then tooke they the Towne, whiche was in truth a kingly deede of a noble and famous Count, and was the euerlasting memorie, to winne by sleight and pollicie a towne so strongly fortified.

Valencia surprisid.

The same day also was the citie of Valencia surprisid, but not many dayes after, the Duke of Alua tooke it againe. For as hee had sent thither Don Iohn de Mendoza with a certaine number of horse men, to make provision for the Castle that was but yll furnished with victuals and munition : hee, who in the name of Counte Lodwike had surprisid the citie, vnderstanding of the coming of the Spaniards, forthwith contrary to the opinion of all men, especially of the Spaniards forsooke and leaft the towne, who thought not so easely without besieging, to haue wonne it.

The Duke receyuing newes of the taking of Mons, would not beleue it, trusting more to the letters whiche hee had from the Freuce king, by which he was aduertised, that count Lodwike had been a few dayes absence in Fraunce: howbeit by the continuance of the newes, hee did assure himselfe that the Towne was taken : whereupon hee was cast into such a rage, as that he tare his garmentes, and troade vppon his cappe, stormyng and chafyng as if hee had beene out of his witte, and mad.

But as the Duke of Alua was altogether put by, for resting of his enemies, the Lorde of Lumay gotte hymselfe by little and little to bee master of the Cities and townes of Hollande, who freely yeelded themselves vnder the protection of the famous Prince of Orange, although hee himselfe was not there: for euery man desired to bee deliuered from the slavery of the said Duke and of the Spaniards.

The Citie of Enchusen standing in the North partes of Hollande, was the first that opposed it selfe agaynst the tenth p.
nie,

nte, and the tyrannie of the sayde Duke, and it was by reason of certayne souldiers which were in the shippes of warre, whome they of Enckhuyfen and Amstelredame had armed. For as vpon the tenth of June 1572. Boschuyfen, Captayne of the sayd Shippes, was entered Enckhuyfen to furnishe his Shippes with victualles, and other warlike furniture, there entred by little and little, many souldiers thinking to take the Towne: which dealing, the Citizens perceyuing, made them packe out of the Towne, and tooke the sayde Captayne Boschuyfen prisoner, whome, after a while they released out of prison.

But as the Citizens were thus troubled, and fearing the receiuing in of souldiers, for the enforcing of them to pay the tenth penie, they sent for Count Lumay his souldiers, and put themselves vnder the obedience of the famous Prince of Orange: and within a while after, the townes of Alkmer, Hojne, Edam, and Hemmelicke, did the like.

When the townes of Holland that lay nearest the Briell, hearde of this, they in like maner sette open their gates to the Princes people, and submitted them selues vnder his obedience, sauing they of Schoonehoue and Amstleredam, who stoutly resisted: But the Lorde of Lumay besieged Schoonehoue, who seeing the breach made, rendred: so that all Holland yeelded to the sayde Lorde, except Amstleredam, which the saide Count besieged once or twise, but it was in vayne, and vnpowrable, for it was ouer stronge, neyther could hee euer wyne the Citizens heartes, because they were very obstinate papistes.

Whiles the Count of Harch plaid his parte in Holland, ^{The Count of Berge inuadeth the Countrey of Zurphen.} the Count Berge, the Prince of Oranges brother in lawe, leued men of warre, and tooke the Countie of Zurphen, the Townes of Dortcum, Dsebrough, and Zurphen: and in the Dutchie of Gelderlande, Hardwyke, Ter, Elberich, and Hattum: But in the Countrey of Twent, Oldezele, Goer, and others.

The Count of Berge seeing the good affection of the Citizens of the Townes, passed on like a Conquerer, and came downe into the countrey of Queryffel, besieging the Town of S. Lawrence 1572. The towne of Campen: But because the Citizens were vnprouided of victualles and munition they rendred the Towne

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Towne; and so afterwarde did they of Swolle, Vasselt, and Steenewyke, Townes of the Countrey of Querssel.

The ouerthrow
of the French at
Chieuraigne.

Whiles the lowe Countreys were assailed on euery side by the Lordes, Gentlemen, fugitiues, and banished men of the said Countreys, the D. of Alua bent only all his forces against Counte Lodwyke his chiefe enemy: and had sent into the borders of Fraunce, a sufficient number of Spaniardes, to fight with, and discomfite the French, that were sent by the Lordes of the reformed religion in Fraunce, to assiste Counte Lodwyke, who were betweene seuen and eyght thousand men, whome the Spaniardes, the 17. of July 1572. ouerthrew at Chieuraigne in a great broade fallowe fielde, for want of good conduct: and tooke their chiefe Captaynes, Maister Jenlis, and Maister Junelle, the one of which was carried to Antwerpe, where, without being sicke that any man knewe, hee was one morning founde suddenly deade: and the other to the Castle of Courmay, who was deliuered in exchaunge for another prysoner, being a Spaniarde.

The Duke of
Alua besiegeth
Ponts.

After this discomfite, the Duke of Alua him selfe went and encamped before Ponts, and very straitly besieged it. And the Count Lodwyke valiantly defended it, still looking for ayde from the Prince of Orange his brother.

The Gueses in
uade Friseland

Amongst these exploytes, there was likewise another inuasion made in west Friselande by the Gentlemen, and the reste of the banished, with their trayne, amongst whome, euen from the first beginning, was captayne generall the Lorde of Pewderwointer, and after, the Count Just of Schouwenbourgh, who were receited into the Townes of Sneecke, Boellwerd, & Franique. But the Count of Friseland taking part with the aduersarie, called from Groening the Lorde of Billi, to bee an ayder against these Gueses: who came with a iolly companie of well appointed Wallons, and was receited into the Towne and Castle of Leeuarde, into the Castle of Harlingue, and into the Castle of Stauere.

The first enterpryse that the Gueses tooke in hande, was against Doccum, for they came with good stoare of souldiers and Countreymen, and drave away the Wallons which lay in Garrison at Doccum.

Rome

Now there were five of these Malons, whiche had gotten by into the Church steeple, & shot at as many as went abroad in the streetes. Which when the Gueses saw, they set fire on y^e steeple, to cause the said Malons to come downe: howbeit there was but one of them burnt, and the rest carried still in the steeple, until the 16. of September 72. when as the Malons drave the Gueses out of Doccum, and recovered the Towne, which was burnt and sacked: so that the Citizens were in great misery, for they, are alwayes the men, that are driven to the wall, and paye for all.

When the Lord of Billi, acunning & an expert man of warre, perceiued that the Gueses souldiers for the most part were countrey men, and Panteses, who were vnacquainted with discharging of an haguebuze: he made voyde theyr seconde enterpryse which they tooke in hande at Stauere: where the Gueses had besieged the castle. For hee came with his Wallons, and drave them from Stauere, and so set fire on the towne: But as the Wallons returned from Stauere with great butin, the Gueses of Sneecke, Boelswerd, and Franique gathered themselves together, to take away the butin from the Wallons, & ouerthowe them: but so soone as the captaine of the Gueses was stricken from his horse with an harquebuze shot, all the rest fled: and the other Gueses were driven from the fortes that stood vpon the bancke, and other places with shame enough, hauing gotten neither wealch nor yet victorie on their enemies.

The Prince had once againe assembled a very great army about Dupsbourgh, who passing the Rhine, tooke by assault, the fourth of Auguste the Towne of Ruremonde: and passing further into Brabante, Louayne, rendered to him, and Halynes, with many other Townes, were surprised.

After that, hee marched on towarde Pontes in Haynault to ayde Count Lodwike his brother: Howebeit the massacre committed at Paris, and in many other Townes in Fraunce, so altered the case, as that the Prince returning by Salines, with his armie, vnto y^e Rhine, discharged his armie, & himselfe with a small companie of men of warre went into Holland, whether he was sent.

The castle of
Stauere ayded.

The Prince
winneeth many
townes.

A massacre at
Paris the 24.
of Aug. 1572.

After

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**Honts in May-
nant rendred.**

After the long battery of Honts, Count Lodwyke seeing no way how to be holpen, fell to a part, and the 21. of September rendred the Towne to the Duke of Alua, vpon certaine conditi-
ons, to wit, that Duke Lodwyke should be sent with a safe con-
uay vnto the borders of the empire. Which thing, when the gar-
nisons of Halynes, Duremond, and others, which kept them to
his vse, vnderstood, they forsooke the same townes, & went theyr
wayes.

**Halynes sac-
ked.**

The Duke of Alua returning with his army from Honts,
came to Bruxelles, and sent his souldiers to sacke Halynes:
which they did the 1. of October, notwithstanding y the cleargie
and all the Citizens of the towne receiued the in with banners &
streamers displayed to appease their fury, but all was in vaine.
For the Duke had giuen the souldiers the Towne, who wholly
spoyled it, killed many citizens, and desfloured great store of wo-
men and young maidens.

The Prince being come into his gouernement of Holland,
trauelled in all hee coulde, about the affayres for the warres: and
the Duke of Alua cleane contrary, sent Colonel Mondragon
with twenty ensignes of Wallons into the Ile of South Beue-
land, where they arriued at a lowe water marke, through the
conduct of certaine traitours to theyr countrie, and rapped the
siege from befoze Tregoes, which was greatly distressed & strait-
ly couped by.

**Zurphen taken
without resis-
tance.**

The 21. of Nouember the Duke of Alua his armie came
befoze the towne of Zurphen, which was taken without any re-
sistance: for the citizens had set the gates wide open for them
to come in at.

But so soone as they were entred, the Duke exercised very
great tyrannie both vpon the citizens and also on the souldiers,
hanging some, and strangling and drowning other some in the
riuer of Orell.

This tyrannie of the Duke, so greatly feared the rest of the
Townes, that the count Berge forsaking all the Townes which
hee had gotten, fledde from thence with all his souldiers.
And so did likewise the count Scauwenbourgh in Friseland, in
memorie whereof, they of Sneecke enspysionned their Patrone,
the Lord of Netherwoymter, whom they had sent for, and with
great solemnitie receiued into the towne. Duke

Duke Fridericke, the Duke of Alua his sonne, and Lieu^t ^{A massacre at} tenawnt, came from zurphen, towardees ^{Narden.} Narden in Hollande, where hee so cruelly and unnaturally handled the Citizens that had peevd them selues, as that it is a fearefull thing to thinke on, and that, against all the lawes of armes, eyther in Christen- dome or heathenesse.

For, when the Spaniardes were entered, and louingly receyued, and had been as well entreated as was possible : there was immediatly after, proclaymation made by the sounde of the Droombe, that all the Citizens and enhabytauntes of the Towne shoulde come to the Hospitall Chappell, where shoulde bee declared vnto them suche ordinaunces as they must line, and direct them selues by.

But when the miserable Citizens were come thither, the Spaniardes murdered euery mothers sonne of them, lackte and burnt the towne, rauished the women, yea, and murdered some of them, and left the rest liue in great Partypredome. Nowe, when I call to minde the wonderfull woorkes of God, I can not passe ouer but tell you, howe that after the murder and massacre of Narden, and the whole Towne on a flaming fire, a young ladde of the age of seuen yeeres was saued, by running out of the gates of the Towne into a little garden full of roots: The father of this Boy was murdered, and his mother beeyng rauished, was hanged by by the armes of the tyzannous Spaniardes, and when the fire came and tooke holde of her house, shee being tyed by the armes, coulde not get away, so that shee was burnt in her owne house.

This young ladde hauing not eaten any thing for the space of thre whole dayes together, wept bitterly both for the death of his Parentes, as also by reason that hee was hunger bit. But God who neuer forsaketh his, sent him reliefe, for the very same night, there came vnto him a well fauoured young man in white apparell, who gaue him whereon to fedde, and sayde : Weepe no moze, my fatherlesse childe, for I will neuer leaue thee.

Eate, and be of good cheere, for they that haue murdered thy father and mother, shall haue a double plague light vpon them. Thy teares shal be turned into ioy and gladnes, and their laughing into teares and mourning : And forthwith the young man

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banished out of sight.

Thus wee see gentle reader, the mercifull and bountifull goodness of God, who neuer forsaketh his, but keepeth them as the apple of his eye.

Harlem besieged

After the massacre and murder at Marden, the Spaniards besieged the Citie of Harlem. The Citizens considering of their neighbours case and example, were determined, notwithstanding the weakenes and small defensablenesse of their towne, to resist the force of the enemy, chusing a great deale rather, honorable to die for the defence of their Countrey, then to become the slaues of such murderers. And therefore I will describe vnto thee in order, the whole historie of the towne of Harlem, howe all thinges went from the first beginning of the siege, euen vnto the very last ende thereof.

The Duke of Alua, being not yet satisfied with the innocent blood, which hee had spilt as well at Marden as at Harlem, not thinking that the Lorde of hostes had an eye vnto his tyrannous deuises, purposed to bring all the Cities and Townes vnder his yoke and bondage: Insomuche, that hauing executed some tyrannie and crueltie, hee purposed to beginne another. To be shorte, hee besieged the good Citie of Harlem, meaning thereby, to reduce all the rest of the Townes vnder his yoke, after he had once gotten it, which, God in his prouidence would not suffer him to doe.

Don Fridericke of Toledo, the Duke of Alua his sonne, through the counsell and aduice, both of the Boroughmaisters of Amstelredam, as also (which is very likely) because he was loth to cast away his souldiers, practized by trecherie and warlike policie, with the Magistrate of Harlem, who partly fauoured him, especially, one Thyerrie a Friselande sometime Boroughmaister, in whome was reposed the whole state and dealing of the towne, although he perfourmed not therein that dutie that hee ought to haue done, but purposed to deliuer all the people into the hands of the bloody tyrantes, so that hee might haue his pardon, as manifestly appeareth by a letter that was sent.

The thirde of December in the yeere 1572. at seuen of the clocke in the morning, the great counsell of Harlem assembled by

by reason of a letter that was sent, by one Maister James Wye, Curate of grand Beginage secretly written, and directed to a Brother of his that was then in the Towne, conteynning the tyrannies which the Duke and his people had committed in many Townes, but that if so be any would craue pardon, hee would graunt it them.

When the Magistrate had caused this letter to be red in open counsell, hee asked the opinion and aduise of them that were there, whether it were best to sende to Don Fridericke or no: Wherein (alas) was the counsell of Achitophell followed, and for the bringing of it to passe, there went out secretly at Spaerwouwer gate, vpon a sled drawen on the yse, the aforesayde Thierry the Frislander, Christopher Schagen, and Adrian of Assendelft the pensioner, telling the Wagonner nothing els, but that they would goe to Sparendam. But so soone as they were come vnto the banke or dike, they saide vnto him, bring vs halfe way, and from thence to Sloterdike, where the Wagonner set them on lande, and would bring them no further, so that they were enforced to foote it to Amstelredam.

The same day were the swoyne men of the Towne of Harlem, sommoned to appeare at two of the clocke in the afternoone at the crossebowe Archers Garden, where also appeared Captayn Weybout Repperda, Sir Launcelet of Bredede, Adrian Jansons Marshall of Harlem, and Stuner the Boroughmaster, when these swoyne men were assembled, Captayne Ripperda began his oration, and sayde: Most happyfull Citizens, the cause of your assembly here in this place, is a letter that was sent to one of our Citizens, contayning, that as yet there is fauour & grace to be had at Don Fridericke his handes, to the which ende, Thierry the Frislander and others are gone to Amstelredam. But my good fellowe Citizens, if you well weygh and consider of the grace that you are like to haue at his handes, as also of the othe whiche you haue made to the Prince of Orange, I doubt not but that you your selues, as well as I my selfe, will do all you can to obserue it.

For I am fully determined, so long as I haue one drop of blood in my body, to hazarde my selfe for the defence of the Citizens of this Citie, and therefore if you your selues bee of the same

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opinion, tell mee your mindes bouldly : Whereupon, the sworne men answered all with one accorde, that for the defence of their Countrey, they woulde hazarde both their bodie and goodes : so that after many other louing exhortations, they brake vp, and euery man departed home to his owne house. Howebeit the sayd Captayne and Marshall wrote forthwith vnto the Prince of Orange, declaring vnto him the state of the towne.

They wrote in like maner vnto the Colonnell Maister Lazarus Puller, who lay at newe Dam with tenne ensignes of foote men, willing him to sende to Harlem some of his compaignie : Whereupon the sayde Puller, departed from the same place with all his Regiment, and passing through base or lowe Hollande, came to the ayde of Harlem.

So that hee arriued there the fourth of the sayde Moneth with tenne ensignes, foure of which went into the towne; whose Captaynes were, captayne Stenbach the Colonels Lieutenant, Christopher Uader, Lambarde of Wirtenberge, and Martin Pruyss.

And the selfe same day were the Churches ridde and clenfed of all the Idols and filthie Imageries, that the pure worde of God might there be preached.

The fifth of December, returned from Amstelredame Christopher Schagen, and Adrian Assendelft the pencioner, who were forthwith sent as prisonners to the Prince of Orange. The same day was brought vnto the Towne, from a place called the five houses, a messenger of Amstelredam by Thierry the Friselande, to the Boroughmaisters of Harlem : Howebeit when the sayde messenger was come neere to the Towne, hee durst not come in him selfe, but sent his letter by a Countreyman : The which messenger after he had been examined and tried, was hanged all but the head.

The 6. of the same moneth, the enemy came to Sperwouwe, and skirmished, to small purpose, with those of Sparendam. Whereupon, the Boroughmaisters and Captaynes sent the next morowe three hundred souldiers to ayde Sparendam, vnder the charge of Martin Pruyss then Captaine. The same day, the enemy returned and skirmished, & the Sparendames lustily saluted them with their great ordinaunce.

The

The 8. of the sayde moneth the Burroughmaisters and cap-
taines sent to Sparendam, certayne Citizens of Harlem and o-
thers to pearce the Dike whiche is betweene Sparendam and
Sperwowe, because they woulde haue the water ouerflowe the
lande. Howbeit it was not digged nor cut downe deepe e-
nough. The same day also had the Spanyardes entrenched
themselues, vppon the sayde Dyke, against the Sparendames,
and made the Countrey men fill by the sayde ditche. The same
day also arryued at Harlem, Monsieur Saint Aldegond, sent by
the Prince of Orange, to be a Commissioner, for the choosling of
a new Magistrate, & the placing of honest men, & right patrones
there, which in deed he did.

The 9. day at tenne of the clocke in the morning: the
sworne men, once againe met together at the Garden aforesaide,
whither also came Monsieur Saint Aldegond, a very eloquent
man, declaring vnto the sworne men, the good and naturall af-
fection which the Prince of Orange bare vnto the lowe Coun-
tries, but especially to the countie of Holland, as by diuers exam-
ples had been shewed.

Declaryng likewise the estate of the towne, by the sinking
away of Thierry the Frislander, as before hath bene sayde,
shewing elssoones the authoritie of the commission whiche his
excellencie had graunted him, which charged and commaunded
hym to depose the olde magistrate of Harlem, and appoynt an
other: to wit, to choose Burroughmasters, Shieriffes, and a
Councell, whiche hee saide, was not meant to disworship and
discredite the olde Magistrate, seeing that many of them had
alwayes shewed their fidelitie and friendshippe to the commo-
naltie, but onely to keepe the saide Towne presently in grea-
ter safetie.

And hee further sayde, that his excellencie did it not for
that he meant, any way to diminish the Priuiledges thereof, but
for the preuenting of a mischiefe: And therefore, he very louing-
ly required and prayed the sworn men, that euery diziner would
hying in the voyces of his companions, for the chusing of eight
Burroughmasters, fourteene Shieriffes, and twentie Counsel-
lours to rule the next peere.

The which election the Diziners gaue him the same euening in
writing

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wyting at the house of Peter Keys, where the sayde substitute might appoint a newe magistrate, whiche was accomplished.

The tenth of the sayd moneth, it was such an extreame colde night, that the riuers of Spare and Tye, were so hard frozen at Sparendam, that the enemy assailed it on euery side. But after that the Sparendams had valiantly defended them selues, and discharged many times their great ordinance, the enemy so liuely assailed them on euery side, as that the garnyson that was in it, was enforced to flye, hauing befoze done greate hurte to the Spaniardes, howebeit it was not without the losse of their valiaunt Captayne Martyn Pruys, and some of their chiefe soldiers.

The eleuenth of the saide moneth, the Spaniardes both on foote and horse backe, compassed about the Towne of Harlem, against whome the townes men sallied, and aboute the Spittle, gaue them the skirmishe, but because some of the Spaniardes had got into the Steeple, the Townes men coulde no way come to fight with the enemy. The same day were some of the olde magistrates, being suspected because they had peelded vnto Thierry the Friselanders commission kept in theyr houses. And they which Monsieur Saint Aldegond had appointed to the gouernement are these which follow. Burroughmasters, Nicholas Laen, John Aliet, Gerrard Stunyer, Peter Keys.

Shiriefs.

William Adriansnes, James Huesden, Cornelius Rickē, Peter Bael, Nicholas Hathew, Adrian Berkel, Hathew Augustine.

The 12. of the saide moneth, vnto the 17. the enemy approached and trenched, by reason of the fauoure of the Bulwarkes which were dayly made: and on the other side, the Townesmen verie carefully fortified their Towne where they sawe it moste needefull.

The 18. of December, at 8. of the clocke in the mornyng, the Spaniardes began to batter the inward gate of S. Crosse, and both the flankers thereof, w bullets of 40. & 46. pound waight, discharging 14. Canons at once: The townesmen againe sate not ydle, but chereely fortified their Rampares with wood, earth, stones, wooll sacks, and other things. About midnight þ sworne
men

men and Souldiers of the towne, forooke the body of þ watch, which was by the Bulwarke of the saide gate, seeing the moste part of the outward gate to be beaten downe, so that there was no going nor conuining from the Bulwarke to the towne: howbeit in the euenyng the Souldiers and swozne men entered againe into the Bulwarke, makyng away in the night vnder the gate, that the enemy had that day beaten downe, with 6. hundredeth and fourescore Canon shotte.

The 19. of the said moneth, the enemy continued the batterry against S. Johns gate, & shot against the saide Bulwarke fixe hundredeth threescore and fiteene Canon shot: Neuertheles the townesmen repaired the breach by reason of the Bulwarke, and besides, made a new rampart, from S. Johns gate to S. Katherines byidge.

The 20. of the said moneth, the enemy continued the batterrie against the Bulwarke vntil about noone, & shot an hundredeth and fiftie fixe times, and then made readie to the assault: wherevpon the Alarme Bell sounded out. The enemy on euery side had set a guard before the gates both of footemen and horsemen, and about one of the clocke in the after noone, came with ensignes displayed from the Spittle to the towne, carrying on their shoulders byidges ready made, to cast ouer the ditches, and so passe to the Bulwarke. Duer and besides this, they had furnished their trenches with Hayquebuziers, continually shooting at the wals and Rampares, to the end they might take away the Curtines from the townesmen. Now, as they assaulted the Bulwarke, the townesmen so liuely beat them backe with chayne shot, & from the Courtines so liberally hayled them with small shot, as that they made them giue ouer the assault: which thing the enemy seeing renued the assault with fresh men, howbeit they were lyuely repulled, so that they were faine to retier to their trenches with great dishonour, leauing in the ditches for payne, good store of Spanyardes, and other dead and hurte men, and amongst the rest, two Spanishe ensigne bearers, who valiantly had gotten by, but more lustely beaten backe, besides many Horions, Harquebus, pikes and Rapiers that were left behinde in the ditches, which did the townesmen very good seruice.

In the euening when the assaulte was ended, they tooke a

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Souldier on foote and brought him to the towne to the Borough-masters and Captaynes, who being racked, confessed that Don Fridericke himselfe was there, and lodged at a house called the Clyffe, the count Bossu at Nicholas Lanes farne house, and Noircarmes with Peter Nicholas Lonsgen, and many greate Lordes, Gentlemen, and Captaines at the Spittle. And further he saide, that the whole Campe was threescore and tenne ensignes, and eyght hundred horse, to witte, 36. compantes of Spaniards, 22. ensignes of Mallons, and 16. ensignes of Almaynes, whose Colonel was the Count of Guerstein, who with the said Almaynes had his quarter appointed out vnto him in the woods and at Hemsted.

The 21. of the saide moneth, the said souldier was hanged: and the enemye did nothing a long time together but vndermine to ouerthrowe the Bulwarke aforesaid.

The same day the townesmen coyned peeces of money of fine silver, of 32. and 16. souls.

The 24. of the saide moneth, B. Adrian of Assendelfe aforesayde, was hanged at Delft for his treasons, and his head set vpon a pole or stake for the space of two houres.

The 27. of the said moneth, the townesmen tooke a Mallon without Scaelwike gate, and forthwith hanged him. The same day they of Harlem receiued letters from the Prince of Orange, which certified them that he would sende them certayne Mallon Herquebuziers in their ayde.

The 28. was Peter Johnsons the enginare of the towne slayne with Harquebuze shot, so that he was put by for repairing of the Bulwarke, and dyed the next morrowe.

The 29. of the saide moneth, Maister Jerome Serates a Commissioner, entred by night with three ensignes of Mallons, vnder the charge of Captayne Michell, Cousin, and Nemi.

The 30. of the saide it was mistie and cloudie which greatly fauoured the Spaniards, so that they might digge and vndermyne euen harde to the towne side.

The last of this saide moneth, there issued out of the wood gate certayne Horsemen, meaning to surpriise the watch, but all in vaine, for the time was too cleare, and the enemye fled, so that, they

they got but some of their weapons. There issued also certaine out of Scaelwike gate, and kild three of their enemies, taking from them 22. harquebuzes.

The first of Januarie 1573. the Townesmen made a camisad, and issued out of the wood gate, comming suddenly by, on the Spaniardes in their trenches, who forsooke them: But the enemye returning with a greater number, the Townesmen also returned carrying away with them but two Countreyemen, and a young srypling.

The 2. of the said moneth, were brought into the sayd towne, twelue sleds laden with wheat, and one loden with bread, came in at Scaelwyke gate. But the 5. of the saide moneth, entered 27. sleddes laden with coyne, & a band of souldiers, vnder the charge of captaine Pandares.

The 8. of the sayde moneth, the Townesmen hunge by a souldier on the toppe of the Bulwarke: and the enemye whiche had giuen ouer battering, from the 20. of December vnto that day, beganne agayne the battery with 24. Canon shotte: But on the 9. they spent 133. shotte: in whiche meane while, there entered in by the sayde gate, seuen sleddes loden with powder and Coyne.

The 10. day at night were sent, for the ayde of the Towne of Englishmen, Scottishmen, Malons, and Almaynes, about two thousande: But by reason of the wonderfull mystie and cloudie weather, they went out of theyr way, insomuch, that many of them got to an house, called the clyffe, some to the downs, others to the wood: Howebeit, the greatest number went to the Princes Campe, by reason they coulde not hitte bypon the Towne, and yet there was a great light burning vpon the top of the Tower, and the Bell also was rounge, whiche was the cause that some of them got to the Towne, amongst whom, was an Almaine, one of the enemies Campe, who asked them of the town, which were come out of Scaelwike gate to skirmish, whether he were neere Amstelredam yea or no: who answered and sayde yea, and so tooke him, and led him to the Towne, prisonner, where, to be short, he was hanged: This day, the enemye had discharged 14. Canon shot,

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The 11. day there were two Alarmes giuen to the Towne: because the Spaniardes and Malons, had made them selues ready to the assault.

The same night, entered into Harlem 48. sledges laden with corne and gunpowder, and with all a bande of souldiers, vnder the conduct of Captayne Gasper.

The 12. of the saide moneth, the enemye had with batterie, greatly decayed the Bulwarke, Parapetti, Maisons, houses, cloisters, and Churches, yea, had almost as it were, vtterly beaten them downe, with the valee of an 150. Canon shot: howbeit the Townesmen had in the night, with earth and wood so notably repayed the breach, as that it was thereby, stronger then euer it was before. And besides all this, the enemye had wrought by all meanes possible to haue myned hard vnder the house whiche stood in Saint Crosse streete.

The 13. day, there entred sixe sledges, laden with Corne and Meale: And the Townesmen also sounded the Alarme, when as they sawe the preparation of the enemye.

The same day likewise, were two men slayne as they satte at the Table eating of their meate, with a Canon shot, and therewith also, a mayde seruauant: howbeit, there was a locke of hayre of a young Damosell cleane carried away couerchiffe and all, with an Harquebouze shot, without any other hurt.

The 14. day the Townesmen sallied out, and tooke thre victuallers, and two Almanes prisoners, and brought them away with them.

And the 15. day, the enemye gaue the Alarme to the Townsmen: Howbeit they lost an ensigne, whiche was had to the Towne.

The 16. of Januarie in the forenoone, the Spaniardes had cast an head out of their trenches vnto the Towne Bulwarke, whereunto was tyed a little scrowle, written with these wordes: This is king Philip his head the Captayne: Whereupon, the Townesmen in recompence of this villanie caused twelue prisoners to be hanged, to witte, Three victuallers of Amstredam, a Malon, and eight Almanes.

The night following when the dead men were cut from the
Gale

gallous, they pact eleuen of their heades in a berrell, hauing their haire, and beardes cut Gueles fashion, and so cast it downe from the Bulwarke into the enemies trenches. Upon the head of which barrell was nayled a peece of paper written with these wordes: Carrie these heades to the Duke of Alua, in payment of the tenth pennie, which hath been so long demaunded and not yet payed: and therefore besieged he this Towne: But for as much as he shall haue no iust cause to complayne, by reason it hath been so long a comming, wee haue sent him the eleuenth, for interest, and in consideration.

The 17. of the sayde moneth there entred 65. sleddes laden with Coyne, and an ensigne of souldiers, vnder the charge of Captayne Schram of Brunswike. The same day, the souldiers & others sallied out at Scaelwike gate, to skirmish with the Almaynes, who had fortified at Rustenbourg house: and first they woouethe watermyll, which the enemye had forsaken, and after that, entred the trenches at once, and draue out the enemye, sending into another worlde as many as they could catch: where the ensigne bearer of Biell, valiantly got an ensigne out of the hands of one of the ensignes bearers of y enemy, & flue him: so y they caried with them to the Town, that ensigne, & three drums, besides their well and christie displing and cooling of the more part of the souldiers. It was also that day ordeyned, that that night, they shoulde leaue the Bulwarke standing without the Towne, because so many men were killed there dayly.

The 18. of the saide moneth, the Townesmen beganne to fortifie Saint Crosses Gate, and strengthened it with earth, faggottes, Horse dungge, and other thinges, enterlasing it with timber logges after the maner of a Gridiron, so that this gate was a greate deale stronger then the Bulwarke aforesaide. The same day the townes men sallied out of Scaelwike gate to skirmish with the Almaynes, but it was to small effect. In the after noone there were sent backe vnto the Princes Campe, certayne sledds, whiche, by the conuoy of three hundred souldiers were brought thwarte the enemye: so that the enemye beganne to reuue the skirmish, who by the lyuely resistinge of the Souldiers of

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the Towne, were put to flight to their great losse, for they that coulde not swimme ouer the ryuer of Spare were drowned.

There was but one souldier of the Towne that dyed in that skymishe, and hee was an Englishman. In the euening, Mounsieur de Verni, a valiant Captayne was shotte throughe the arme with an Harquebuze, as he was on the new Bulwark of the saide gate.

The 19. day in the afternoone, Adrian de Berkerode, sherife, went from the Towne towardes his Maiestie, with a certayne number of sleddes for corne, with a conuoie of certayne Horse, and about fise hundred shotte, with whome the enemye encountered at Scaelwike, Harlemmeruliet, and the fise houses; but notwithstanding that the enemye was farre more in number, yet were they, with shame inough enforced to flye, with the losse of two hundred men and moe: so that the souldiers of the Towne got an honourable victorie.

The 21. day entred into the Towne, three sleddes, loden with corne, fishe, and gunne powder. The same day in the morning, sallied out of the wood gate to charge the Spaniards whiche lay vnder the walles, sixe hundred Almaynes; whiles the Mallons passed ouer y water by boate, & were set on land at S. Katherins gate, to the ende they might light vppon the backe of the Spaniardes, and poyson the great ordinaunce. But because the Almaynes marched not euenly with the Mallons, who were not able to vnderstande what the Almaynes did by reason of the Bulwarkes, notwithstanding that they had a signe giuen them out of the Towne by the blow of an Harquebuze, that they shoulde not all at once set vpon the enemye, they were enforced to retyre to the towne, with losse both on the one side and on the other.

The 22. of the said moneth, there entered into the Towne 13. sleddes loden with corne, and other victuals. Moreover, they of Delft, Leyden, Goud, and other Townes of south Hollande, sent of a brotherly loue to those of Harlem, to know if they would be rid of their lame, decrepide and olde people that were vsufite for the defence of the Towne, so that if they would, euery of them graunted to take and keepe them according to their proportions.

The 23. day entred into Harlem 22. sleddes laden with corne, and 5 souldiers salied out of Scaelwike gate, & skirmished with the enemye, whome they drave ouer 5 Spare hard to their dozes: and besides, burnt Rustenbourgh harde to the grounde, and hauing taken fire of seuen of the enemies boates, brought them home with them to the towne. Then sayled they towards a ship whiche roade in the Spare, to the end, to set vpon the Townes men, and when they had set her on fire, and hurt & slaine some of the enemies, they returned trumphantly home with two prisoners. In the euening about seuen of the clocke the Alarme bell, and the drummes also sounded the Alarme, but nothing ensued thereof.

The 24. of January, came into the towne 35. sleddes laden with corne, wheate, fishe, and othez victuals. Then had the enemies planted two peeces of great ordnance vpon the Bulwarke, fitly to beate downe the towne.

The 25. day of the saide moneth came into the Towne other 35. sleddes laden with corne and victuals: and the 26. day 37. sleddes laden with victuals. The same day was Peter Flashman one of the seuen Captaines of the Towne hurt, with the scattering about of stones, and dyed thereof soone after.

The 27. day, a maydes head, dwelling at the signe of the Hartes head, as shee was pulling the roasted Chickens of the spit, carryed cleane away with an yron bullet, whiche came through the kitchin. The same day the Townes men had pulled downe Saint Johns Tower, because they feared it would haue fallen into the ditches, by reason of the battery of the enemye, which would greatly haue aduantaged them. The Alarme also was at that time sounded to no purpose.

The 28. day, the Burrough masters, chiefe Officers, and Captaines receiued letters from his Excellencie by the Poste, who was forthwith sent backe. The same day, sayled out of the woode gate seuen men at armes to make play with the enemye, who returned without any encounter. The same day also, entred 80. sleddes laden with victualles, and certaine barrells of powder, conducted with about foure hundred Englishe men; Scottes, and Mallons, men well giuen and disposed, and of very good behauiour, who were brought into a monasterie, and

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there well intreated by the Lordes: the name of the Captaine of the English men was, Captaine Symons: Baufour, of the Scottishe men, and Marottin one of his Excellencies guardes: and Captaine Varduer one of the Counte Marche his guard.

The 29. day was a Proclamation made, that no Butcher shoulde sell a pounce of the best Beefe aboue a patart & an halfe: and a pound of cowe beefe, but for a patart and a quarter, vpon payne of the forfaiture of the same fleshe, and arbitrary correction.

The 30. day, the souldiers of the towne salied out in a great heate, to popson, or pegge, the great ordnance of the enemye: but because the townes men were not egally at one instaunt ready to doe it, it turned to nothing: and so much the rather, because the enemye was ready in the trenches to giue the assault: so that the Townes men were enforced to retyre, and thereby were many of them hurt, to wit, Captaine Michael in the hande, Cousin, in y^e knees with a pyke, his ensigne bearer in the arme, with an harquebuzze shot, and Captaine Lambart of Wirtenberg in the breast with a Launce. The townes men gaue fire to the myne of the Bulwarke, and thereby kild a great number of the enemyes.

The last day of Januarie, the enemye was prepared, to giue a liuely attempt to the towne, as in very deede came to passe. For, as the Almaines, who that night watched nere vnto the gate of Saint Crosse, and Saint Johns gate, were negligent in theyr watch: the enemye before the daye brake, was ready at hand, and had placed all the ensignes about Saint Johns gate, a number of which souldiers, had already got themselves into the chambers and other places of the gate halfe beaten downe, before the townes men knewe any thing of it. On the other side, many of y^e enemyes were passed vnderneath the bulwarke that was beaten downe, at Saint crosse gate, and hid themselves vnder an hedge of thornes all alongst the ditches, from S. Crosse gate, vnto S. Johns gate, by reason that the ditches were frozen. Moreover, they of the Bulwarke, and fort at Saint Crosse gate, were placed in good order with ensigne displaid: and all the rest kept the trenches of S. Crosse gate, which was beyond S. Johns gate, euen
vnto

into the Tower of Reuelin, in very good order, so y^e to any mans thinking, the victorie was alreadie theirs: for there were to begin the assault, 18. or 19. ensignes of Spaniardes, Almaines, and Mallons. There were also placed neere to the spittle betwixt fūe and sixe hundred horse, and besides, in the linkes likewise, about two hundred horse, & an other part was accompanied with souldiers lying at the entrie of the wood, attending the victorie of this assault, for the murdering of the Citizens and souldiers, who, after the town was taken, shold any way seeke to flie thence and saue them selues.

This assault was to bee giuen by the Spaniardes, Almaines, and Mallons: to wit, by the Spaniardes and Almaines from Saint Crosse gate downe all alongest the ouerthowne Rampares, vnto S. Johns gate. And the Malons to giue the assaule at the saide Saint Johns gate, who had alreadie gotten the aduantage of the said gate and Rampares, before any of the townes men perceiued it.

Now, as the enemy had this great aduantage against y^e townes men whiche coulde no way be recouered without great effusion of blood, if God by his grace had not prouided for it, the souldiers & swoyne men which watched this night in that quarter, so soone as it was day, had quickly perceiued it: wherfore fiftie or threescore of them lustily charged them betweene the gates, and valiantly pealed them with harquebuze shot, crying alarme, whiche noyse awaked them that were there about, & made them runne with their weapons to the Rampares, and so did likewise al the townes men, charging the enemy very couragiously, so that therein they slue many, and beate backe the rest from the toppe, downe beneath the walles and Rampares, so that all the Spaniardes, Mallons, and Almaines, were in a short tūne dispatched in great numbers: for they so valiantly withstood the enemy, as that there coulde not a man so soone peepe aboue the Rampare but that hee dyed for it.

The strongest assault that the enemy gaue, and were most in number, was, at the olde bulwark at Saint Crosse gate, which the enemy had gotten hard by the new fort, that the townes mē had fortified, and the enemy, for the giuing of y^e assault, had vndermined it, because they meant to winne it by maine strength.

But:

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But they within, had so countermined, and made such a pit belowe vnder the breach, & put into it certaine barrells of powder and such other like stuffe, as y in giuing fire thereto, when as the Spaniardes, with ensignes displayed, were in greatest number gotten vpon to the topp of the walles, they so lustily bestirred them selues, as that the myne and as many as were vpon it, and there about, were blowne vpon into the ayre: so that a great number of the enemies were sent to heauen headlesse, armeles, and legles, yea tozned and rent in peeces, besides those that there were buried.

It was a feareful thing to see, howe the heads, armes, and legges, yea, & whole bodie also, harquebuzes, halberdes, rapiers, and drummes, flew vpon into the ayre. Duer and besides all this, the Townes men got them into the trenches of the enemye, and slue of them in great numbers, as many as were not able to flie thence. They discharged also a demie Serpentine & other yron peeces, amongst them which stood in order of battayle before Saint Johns gate, making therewith great slaughter of the enemye: which caused the Spaniards and Mallons retire with shame enough into theyr trenches, carrying away all their dead that were of any reputation, as fast as they coude. In this assault, of y townes men y were deadly hurt, was captaine Lambert of Wirtzenbourgh, who shortly after peyled vpon y Ghost to God.

Whyles the Spaniardes gaue the assault at Saint Crosse gate, and Saint Johns, there entred in at Scaelwike gate 170. sledges laden with corne and other victuals, which came from the Princes campe, with a conuoy of 300 shot, and about 70. horse, vpon the yse: who were pursued euen vnto Harlem gates with an hundred horse, and certaine shot, to haue taken away theyr victuals, but all in vaine, howbeit in very deepe the Princes Cornet bearer, and one other of that companie lost their liues.

In the euening the Burroughmasters sent two messengers with letters to his Excellencie, who immediately vpon theyr returne, brought with them an Almaine horse man prisoner that was ryding towards the wood to his companie. These two messengers were sent by Skeueling, to carry newes to the prince
of

of the state of the towne.

The first of Februarie, sallied out of Scaelwyke gate 27. horsemen to mainteine a skirmishe, but they encountered with no man saue an Almayne souldier, whom they brought to the towne.

The second of the same moneth, the townes men were aduertised that the enemy had made a bridge with boates about the Barnardynes, to passe ouer certayne horsemen for the cutting off of the sleddes of the towne which brought in their vittualles: wherefore 36. horsemen and 600. on foote salped out of the towne in the morning through the fauour of the Bulwarke: But when they coulde finde no bridge, they returned, bringing with them a Malon, and a young stripling, who were in an house neere Scaelwyke. The same day was an Alarme giuen.

The 3. of the saide moneth, was proclaymed by the sounde of the bell, that a loafe of bread of sixe pounce weight shoulde not be solde for aboue two paratces, and a pounce of Cowe cheese for halfe a brasse pennie, a pot of sweete mylke, a groat and an halfe, and a pounce of butter two soules. The menne at Armes and certayne Harquebuziers salped out of the wood gate in the morning to mayntayne a skirmish, & found certayne Spanishe horse, whereof, one horse and two menne at Armes of the enemye whiche went from the skirmishe, were stryken with a canon shotte that came out of the forte of the sayde gate.

The fourth of the sayd moneth, salped out at the saide gate, the men at armes with certayne Harquebuziers, who conuayed certayne emptye sleddes as farre as the Mere, whiche went for Coyne: where the horsemen fell vpon the enemye, howebeit they parted sayely without anye hurte doyng. The same daye, the enemye thought to giue fire to the myne whiche they them selues had made, at Saint Crosse gate, thinking thereby, greatly to endamage the towne, but it was by Gods grace so preuented with a Countermine, as that the Townes men gaue fire to the myne, where they dispatched a greate manye, both of Souldiers and Pyoners, without any hurt or losse to the towne.

The

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The 5. of February in the afternoone, were 8. sleddes laden with victualles brought into the Towne, whiche came from his Excellencies campe: and the first daye there wente to the Prince Caprayne Vemi, and with him Adrian, de Berquenroede, for the sending thither of victualles, and other thinges necessary, the alarme also was giuen, but nothing came of it.

The 8. of the said moneth, entred an 150. sleddes laden with corne, & the enemy gaue the alarme without any more to doe for that tyme. But at the second alarme, the townes men made the giue an assault.

The 9. of Febr. the enemy began within the Bulwarke at S. Crosse gate, which the townes men had giuen ouer, their platfome of earth and tymber logges, for the planting of their artillery there, that they might thereby batter at their pleasures. the Wallles, Rampares, Bulwarkes, houses, and streetes of the towne.

The 10. of the said moneth, the enemy neuer giuing ouer vndermyning, caused the townes men also to plye it with countermyning as fast, and gaue forth with fire thereto, sending thereby a great number of the enemies into another worlde. The same day, by the aduise of the Borroughmaisters and Captaynes of the towne was ordeined, that a newe Ditch and Rampare shoulde bee made like an halfe moone: for they were asfearde that the enemy woulde vndermyne the saide Foote or Bulwarke, whiche in the ende they beate downe, which Ditch and Rampare was with one consent, and great diligence begun and finished: so that there was no man absent at the doing of it, but Borroughmaisters, head Officers, Captaynes, Lieutenants, Citizens, Souldiers, Souldiers wiues, and Pages, laye at it daye & night: Insomuch that it was quickly dispatcht & made an end of.

The eleuenth of the sayd moneth, an Almayne comming from the entrie of the woode, passed by boate ouer Spare, and giuing a signe with his Cappe, came towarde the Towne, desiring to come in: and beeyng in the Towne, asked for Captayne Steinbach, shewing Letters whiche were written vnto him. Wherefore hee was brought to the
sayde

saïd Steinbache his lodging who forthwith brought him to the towne house, where he was thoroughly examined, and after put in prison,

The 12. day of Februarie, arrived a boate laden with victuals, which came from Leyden, and the next day being the thirteenth of the saide moneth, there came a messenger with letters from his Excellencie vnto the Magistrate.

The 14. of the saide moneth, there came in the conuoy of 40. harquebuziers 2240. Rasiere of corne and other victualles : and the next day came in a boate laden with turues, very good fyng in the lowe countries.

The 16. day came in a great Barke laden with bread and fishe. But the next day being the 17. came in twentie and eight small boates laden with victuals, and foure hundred souldiers, the greater number of them in double pay, vnder the charge of capitaine Christopher Gunter : The same day also were foure or five alarms giuen, because the encmie offered to giue the assault, setting fire on the myne, whiles they stood about the Spittle in order of battaile with ensigne displaid, although the firing of the myne stood them in small steed, which was the cause that the assault began not.

The 18. day of February the first Gally, of 84. secte by the keele, hauing a boord in her, certaine souldiers got into Harlem Mere. The same day also entred in foure or five small Boats laden with victuals, & one other laden with two peeces of brasse, which came from Leyden.

The 19. of the saide moneth, there arrived a boate laden with ten yron peeces, powder, shot, and victuals. The same day arrived at Penninkker the little Gallie of Amsterdam with foure or five small boates, to the intent to cut downe the bakke or dyke for the getting in into Harle Mere : who were incountred with the little Gally of Harlem and other small boates, and by that meane stayed. In the meane while the townes men fired a myne which they had cast vnder the Bulwarke, whereupon ensued a brane skirmishe. The next day, fled out of the towne a Wal-lon whome before they had taken pysoner, into the Almaines campe,

The

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The 21. of the saide moneth the Amstelredamians returned from Pennykter with their boates to accomplish the work which they had begunne: who before had fought with the little gally of Harlem.

There were also certaine horse men sent from Harlem, whiche came out of the Sparewouwer gate vpon byddges, and tooke one of the enemies Boates fraught with men, the greater number of whiche were slaine, and the reste hanged at Fuyke.

The 24. of February the Harlemlans sent two of their Gallies to Fuyke, and the 25. they receiued two brasse peeces from þ Dordrightians, one of which carried a bullet of fortie & foure pounce weight, and the other of thirtie, and foure of five poun Serpentine. The same day entred five small vessels laden with victuals and graine, to wit, with wheate, rye, barley, beanes and pease.

The 26. of the same moneth the great Gally of Harlem, got before all the rest of the men of warre, and entred the Mere, where shee fell amongst a dosen men of warre of Amstelredam, whereupon foure of five of them began to assaile her to haue clapt her a bord, before such time as she perceiued that they were their enemies, so that shee lost some of her men: But Captaine Gerard the younger beeing hurt, saued himselfe and his lieutenant in a small vessel, leauing his people in danger, whome the enemye forthwith ouercame: an houre or two after the losse of the great Gally, came the little Gally of Harlem (vnder the charge of Captaine Iames Antony) with other small men of warre, who valiantly recouered the great Gally, and wonne of þ enemye a new Caruell, killing as many as were within boord, saue three, whome they brought to Harlem, one of them beeing a Gentleman of Louayne, named Ranscor, and the Harlemlans returned to Fuyke hauing playd the tall souldiers. The same day also entered into Harlem certaine small vessels laden with victuals.

The 27. of the said moneth the saide Gallies once againe met with the enemye, and put the Amsterdamians to flight: wher vpon the Harlemlans stopped the hole which the Amsterdamians had made, with boates, stones, and other things.

The

The last of this moneth very early in the morning, y^e townes men fyred a little Myne that was digged at Saint crosse gate, to the losse of some of the enemies.

The third day of Marche, the Harlemians set a woozke and played with the great ordnance befoze named : for, as the enemye had made a platfoyme befoze the Fort of Bulwarke, John Coningham the Scottishe Lieutenent played so lustily with the battery, as that in halfe a day hee had beate it smooth to the grounde . The same day also entred into Harlem two small vessels laden with victuals and powder.

The fourth of March the enemye gaue y^e alarme, and in the meane whyle victualles entred into the towne . And the next day, the Chafe of Harlem entred the Mere hoatly appointed.

The seueneth of the said moneth, the townes men had beaten downe the enemies platfoyme. The same day also a Proclamation was made that no assise shoulde bee payd of any thing within the towne.

The eight day entred into Harlem two ensignes of English men and Wallons, which were quickly sent away againe, because it was thought that there were about foure thousand soldiers in the towne.

The nienth day, was Captaine Enchuisse and his horse men embarqued, wherefoze the townes men skirmished against the enemye that laie in the wood : and so did they likewise the xi. day, but to small purpose.

The twelfth of Marche came victualles into Harlem, and a Larne was giuen. But the fourteenth of the said moneth the Harlemians fired a myne, which dispatched some of they^r enemies, amongst whom a Spaniard couered with earth was retyred, howbeit hee neuer spake word, and soone after dyed. The same night a Wallon came out of the wood to the towne, who was immediatly sent to the prince of Orange.

The eighteenth of the said moneth, the enemye had made ready to assault the towne about noone, and the townes men sounded y^e alarme, but there was nothing done. Howbeit the next day y^e enemye had fired a myne, but with no hurt or losse to y^e towne. And the 20. day the townes men plaid the like part, and the very

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same effect followed. They likewise thought to set fire on the platfome, but it had no good successe.

The 22. of Marche, which was Easter day, the enemy stood in order of battaile both about the Spittle, as also in the higher linkes and in the wood. Wherefore the Burroughmasters and Captaines commaunded the arme to be sounded, but nothing was done. The same day salyed out of the wood gate, five or six horsemen, and 120. shot to make play with them which lay in the wood, howbeit they were repulsed with the losse of two souldiers and a few hurt men. The same day also came into Harlem in three ships 70. last of corne, which are 1625. razieres.

The 24. of this moneth, Maryne Brande Admirall of the Mere, brought with him two prisoners, who after they had been racked, were hanged about Fuyke.

The 25. of the said moneth at niene of the clocke in the morning salied out of the wood gate about 200. Malons to skirmish with the enemy which lay at the entry of the wood, and got the outwarde trenche of the enemy: but because they were not strong enough, they rettyed to the towne, without doyng of any great exploite, saue that they hung two souldiers. But when the Burroughmasters vnderstood the state of that quarter, The Colonels and Captaines determined to surpise y^e same quarter in the after noone with niene or ten ensignes, which was executed at foure of the clocke in the afternoone by sixe companies of souldiers and many citizens, who salied out of the water gate, & about 200. French and Malon souldiers that salied out of the wood gate, where after they had shake off their shot, they coupled the skirmishers together. In the meane while, issued out the aforesaid Chase of Harlem, & certaine small men of warre with her, and thereby surpysed the enemy in three or foure places, who hauing once discharged their great ordnance, tooke their heeles, howbeit the townes men followed the for life, fro thence to Faert, killing & slaying: so y^e they slue a thousand of their souldiers, a great number of which were mē of estimation, & wealth, as appeared by the rich iewels & apparel y^e were brought to the towne: And besides, y^e townes men burnt aboue 300. tents, and carried their great ordnance out of the field, to wit, 5. Falconets & 2. brasse peeces, with great store of munition & powder, and niene.

niene ensignes which þ souldiers in the euening, to þ shame and despite of the enemye, as it were in great triumph, carryed with drummes & fises alongst the new Rampares, & in the end placed the vpo the . . . Duer & besides all this, they brought to þ towne about 30 horse, a great number of Cowes & calues, garments, clokes, great store of plate, rings, gilt Horions, & an innumerable nūber of corselets, harquebuzers & swordes. To bee short, ther was neuer a souldier of the town but had a good large butin. For, there was a drummer þ had 200. duckets for his share. Which victorie was wonne with the losse of a fewe men, for the townes mē lost not aboue 8, amongst which, was one Captaine Derdeind a Malon, a very valiant & wise man, who had doone great good seruice about the fortification of the Towne, & had in this victorie with his souldiers, brauely charged the enemye.

The 26. of March þ townes men had placed in the morning vpon the bulwark 11. ensignes, which they had aswel the day before as also at other times got from the enemye. But þ 27. was slaine from the platforme with a musket shot, Chicrry Braelleman, Launcelot Biederode his Lieutenant.

The 28. of this moneth the ships of warre, were gotten to the other side, halfe way to Easterpe.

The 29. of the saide moneth, were gotten into Harlem Mere thirtie and three shippes and seuen gallies of the enemye, whiche woulde haue bereft vs the Mere, hauing cut downe the dyke about the Terbert house. And the Harlemians had with great speed by reason of a prosperous winde, got to the Mere þ thirde Gally vnder the charge of captaine Vinchoff, and also captaine John Pantegnault, who with certaine citizens sayled towards Caghe, where the rest of their ships lay.

The 30. day of Marche, the enemye had beganne a fozt neere þ upke, for the safetie of their ships, & the last of the said moneth the enemye fyred a myne, howbeit no hurte came to the Citie thereby, saue onely that the Alarme was sounded by reason of the batterie.

The first of Aprill, there came into the towne a Barque laden with powder which came ouer the fields þ were ouerflowē. The same day, the souldiers destroyed S. Johns Abbey, which

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stood whole and sound till then.

The second of this moneth, came thirtie and eight shippes & Gallies of Amsterdam befoze Fuyke, where from morning vntill the euening they did nothing els but shoote off theyr great ordnance.

The fourth of the said moneth the towne men hunge bype without Scaelwyke gate eleuen souldiers whiche were prissoners, and drowned a woman. And the sixt of the said moneth, a Poste came in at the wood gate, whiche immediately returned. The same day the enemye blew by a mine, howbeit the towne was no whit hurt thereby.

The seuenth of the said moneth the towne men salied out at Scaelwyke gate, thinking to haue cowpled together in skirmishe, but it was to small purpose. And the eight of the same moneth the towne men fired a myne, but it auayled little.

The nienth of this moneth, came, as it were about an hundred of the Princes ships from Caghe towards Fuyke. And the harlemians hauing a dosen well appointed shippes, first sayled with a great large vessell vnto a brydge neere vnto the wood, where thee stayed without being able to passe or yet stirre: And the second which was a Caruel stayed against the low dyke. But as two hundred souldiers or there about sayling out of the water gate to set vpon the enemye, were liuely repulsd: the souldiers which were in the great vessell, and in the Caruell, came out of them, and some of them came on shoare in a boate, leauing both the ships in the power of the enemye. The others seeing that the brydge woulde not stirre, forsooke also both their vessels, and in skirmishing rettyred to the towne with the losse of fixe or seuen of their companie: in the meane while, our vessels kept them of Amsterdam, whiche lay befoze Fuyke, play, by reason of the Northeast winde, & the fort of Fuyke, where the Spaniards were prouided of great ordnance, they coulde not come to grapple with the enemye: Therefore our men in the euening sayled thence, and so rested themselves for that night. There was also in the euening a skirmish vpon the Sommer way, and at night were two alarmes sounded.

The tenth day of Aprill were sent out of Scaelwyke gate foure Postes to the Princes shippes. The same day the enemye

enemie had made a long trenche, which raught from the wood hard to Fuyke, so that none could come out of the towne, but must needs fall into their lappes.

The 11. of the saide moneth, the Princes shippes were come to Hemsteede, whiche made the townes men thinke that they woulde set som men a shoare: so that for the helping of the, there issued out of the wood gate about 150. souldiers, out at the water gate about 500. and out at Scaelwike gate, 200. But although the vessels approached not, yet the souldiers were hoatie chased backe, and two of the Captaines were hurt by their owne souldiers. The same day, seauen or eight of the enemies had desperately gotten vp vnto the fort or Bullwarke with two ensignes, crying, victorie, victorie, the towne is ours. But the ward so lustily repulled them, as that one of the ensigne bearers was left behind dead, with his ensigne.

The 14. of this moneth in the night came three messengers thwart the fieldes in at the wood gate, and so did also three other messengers, the night following. The 15. day, the townes mē put the fourth Gallie to the Mere, being 180. fecte by the keele. And the seuentene day were three messengers sent towards the Prince.

The 18. day of Appyll entred Jerome Serrates and the L. L. Rosoni, Bördell, Dorhem, Haligau, and others, to the number of fiftene, and with them certaine men laden with powder.

The 19. day the Princes shippes had set on lande at the corner of the five houses, two thousand souldiers to skirmishe with the enemie: But by reason of the long wayting, for the Harlemians, nothing was done. The same day was an aduenterer sent towardes the Princes shippes, who, although he was hastily pursued by the enemie, thwart their campe, yet, maugre theyr beardes, hee returned safe and sounde. The same day at night Captaine Baufoure with his scottishmen, and certaine citizens, salping out at Scaelwike and Sparewouwer gates, made a campslado and tooke by force Rustenbourgh house, and dispatcht a good many of the enemies.

The 20. of Appyll, there came from Fuyke certaine Spaniards,

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niardes, some by Gallie, and some by lande, to recouer Rustenbrough, howbeit they were so lustily repulled by the townes men, as that they were faine to retyre. The same day were sent from Harlem to the Prince foure Postes or messengers. And the 21. of the saide moneth an alarme was giuen to the towne.

The 22. of this moneth, they y were taken in the trenches of Rustenbrough, were hauged without Scaelwyke Gate. The same day, y Ships of the Here, brauely skirmished, howbeit to small purpose. And the next day, there reentered at Scaelwyke gate, foure postes: and others sent away out at the wood gate.

The twentie and foure of the saide moneth entred in at the wood gate, 24. Citizens of Harlem, bringing with them powder, and then was an alarme sounded at the towne. The same day at night issued a good number of Englishmen, Scottes, Malons, and Pyoners, and went towardes Spiquerbord hole, but returned without doing of any thing, and so leuelled the worke begun.

The 25. day of Apryll at fve of the clocke in the after noone the enemye came in, on thre seueral partes, to skirmish vppon Rustenbrough, but was faine for all that in the end to retyre. The same day the enemye gaue y alarme, to the losse of some of theyr owne compaunie. The next day, there departed from Harlem foure postes in one Barque towardes the Princes ships: but the 27. day came into Harlem two small vessels laden with powder, thwart y fields & ditches. And immediatly after was an alarme giuen.

The 28. of this moneth, the townes men, about eight of the clocke at night blew by a myne, whereupon certaine Spaniardes and others were well cooled: whiche was the cause that made them discharge eighteene Canon shot, wherewith they slue Captaine Henry Lassens, and one Christopher Scagen Gentlemā. The same day went out foure souldiers to surprise certaine warders, to wit, the one beeing neere the wood, and the other in the way to the wood: but because the saide warders coulde not see the way to bee gone before, it coste them theyr liues.

The next day, there went out imbarqued, at Scaelwyke gate
certaine

certain messengers, and sayled towards the princes ships, where they arrived without stay, as well appeared by a token of the flag which they gave.

The last of this moneth sallied out the Princes garrade to skirmish with the enemy, in whiche their captaine Hargotin was slaine. About this time the townes men had coyned certaine peeces of gold, with the armes of Harlem on the one side, & their owne posy on the other: Vincit vim virtus.

The first day of May entred into the towne two men, who being chased by the enemy, forsooke both their vessels, wherein they had 800.li. of powder, which they thought to haue brought into the towne. And the second of this moneth entred a boy of fiftene yeeres of age, in at the wood gate as a messenger, with eight pound of powder, saying, That the Burroughmasters of Leiden had sent him, and that he was to haue back with him two messengers of the towne. This boy was kept prisoner, as one sent by the enemy.

The third day of this moneth was a thorough search made in all the citizens houses both rich and poore, about the making of an Inuentorie of all the victuals, that were not of any greate importance, and of Sope and spices. Sope was sold for sixe or seuen soules the pound, homely butter, at foure soules the pound, and an egge at halfe a patart.

The fourth of this moneth, the Malons began to mutyne, because that Captaine Nemi in executing the lawe, had hanged a Malon in the night: and therfore the souldiers of the Lord of Dorein came, and offered their harquebuzes harde to his breast to the great hazarde of his life: For they would needes knowe of him, who was the Authour of this executing of iustice: howbeit the vyproze was in the ende appeased, by reason of the freeing of another souldier that was prisoner.

The sixth of May, the enemy of Fuyke, shue with shot sixe or seuen Cowes of the towne, because they fed neerer them then they were wonted: but in recompence thereof, the Townes men shue thre of their souldiers with shot.

The next day, they which lay in the wood sallied out to take the Cowes of the towne, howbeit the Souldiers of the

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towne kept them safe enough from that. This night sallied out of the little gate of the wood fūe or sixe souldiers, who slew one of the watche.

The eight of this moneth the enemye shot with the greate ordnance, quite through the great Steeple, hard adioyning to the dyke: and the same night went foure messengers towards the shippes, with a conuoye of twentie or thirtie shot, which gaue an alarme to the enemye lying in the trenches, as these posts passed, carrying wth them thre olde doues, that should bring answer backe againe.

The nieneth of this moneth which was Whitson eauē, the enemye had cast a mans head by the Towne walles about the Bulwarke, with this inscription: this is capitaine Oliuer his head. The same day were taken and committed towarde master Quintin and his daughter, and master Lambert sometyme Burroughmaster of Harlem, because they were suspected of treason.

The next morrowe at foure of the clocke in the afternoone, the enemye issued forth to drīue the towne cattle, & drāue before them in deene about thirtie kine, but although they which drāue them were to the number of 150. yet, eight or tenne souldiers of the towne, maugre their heads, recovered them all, from them.

The 12. of May, about eight of the clocke in the morning, returned one of the flying postes, hauing tyed to his legge a litle rounde scroule. But the thirteenth of the saide moneth there entred all belly naked, one, whome, the enemye had taken vpon the Hère dike. The same day in the morning, arriued another flying poste with a letter, but about foure of the clocke, the enemye which lay in the dennes, and in the wood, came downe to drīue the kine out of the medowes, that lay before the wood gate, howbeit thirtie souldiers comming out of the Towne to skirmish with them, frustrated theyr intent and purpose.

The fourteenth of this moneth, one of the towne mynes funke, by reason of the enemies continuall vndermining, and great abundance of rayne that fell, so that thre souldiers were ouerwhelmed therein: and therefore, the Towne sounded the Alarme.

The

The 15. day the Harlemians sent another Hoste towarde the shippes, with a Canuoye of 30. Harquebuziers, which gaue the enemy such an Alarme, as that hee in the meane while escaped theyr handes.

The 16. of the sayd moneth, the Souldiers of the Towne sayling out, chased the enemy from the trench next to the wood, and hauing slaine one of the warde, brought backe with them thzee Horions and two Harquebuzes. The next morowe one of the Souldiers of Rustenbrough Guard, tooke the trench by Fuyke, carrying backe with him for butin, thzee pikes & a Musket. The same night, the Guard of Rustenbrough made an Incursion as farre as John Pittamans houses, where they slewe two of the watch, hauing gotten for their paines, thzee cloakes, one Cushin, and a sarge.

But the next day the townesmen kild out of their mine with a shotte, a Spanyard, who was esteemed, a man of some reputation and credite, because he had a chaine of Gold about his neck. The same day the townesmen blew vp a myne, which coste the enemy verie deare. The same day also, commandement was giuen, that all the earth which was carryed vp to the Rampares, should be cast ouer the saide Rampares, because the enemy laye vnder them, which was very good counsell, by reason that the townesmen thereby, ramforced them aboue two faddomes thicke. The same day also was a proclamation, that euery man, shoulde be alowed but one pound of bread the day, women and maydes halfe a pounce, and thzee children, one pounce: But Strumpettes and Pages to eate nothing els but Graynes. And they that were not able to liue with a pounce of bread, had free libertie giuen them of the sayd Graynes. For there was not a byt of rye bread left. Neyther might the Brewers brew any beere aboue 20. soules the barrell.

The 19. of May, there gotte by into the towne Bulwarke, foure or fve of the enemies, and with shot, slewe thzee men and a mayde, as she was carrying of earth: whereupon, the Drums sounded the Alarme. The same day, the Souldiers of the towne sallied out, and drew neare to the wood, where they slewe two Souldiers, and brought the thirde away prisoner. The next morowe, they that laye in the wood, by the Spittle, and in the way

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which leadeth to the wood, made excursions, for the dringing of the Towne cattle, whome the Harlemians stayed, and with the losse of one soldiour, slew two men at armes.

The same daye the Townsmen sente backe a prisoner which was brought in by night, to the Campe of the Enemie, giuing him in his purse two Harlem half Dollers, a lose, and a Letter to deliuer to his Captain: the content wherof was this, That hee shoulde bee taken or charged, beefore suche time as he had eaten that lose. This warning they gaue him, because he shoulde haue no occasion to complaine, and finde him selfe grieved, if euer he were surprisid.

The 21. of the sayde moneth, the Enemie hauinge gotten vnye to the Rampars, dispatched nine Wyoners carryinge of earth: But the daye following, they shotte out of their mortyer peeces eyght bullettes of wyld fier: so that the fier caught holde in the kinges streete, at the corner of the Bath streete, but it was forthwith put out.

The thre and twentie of Maye in the After noone, the Enemyes of Fuyke and others, to the number very neere of fise hundred, had lustily skirmished with our trench, and with the forte of Rustenbrough, where, at the firste, were not aboute eight or tenne soldiours, for manye were gotten into the Towne, where the enemie so forciblye assailed, as that they wanne the firste trenche on that side adioynning euery hard to the hydge of the chiefe forte, where some Spanishe Worde, or Captayne of estimation, and an other Captaine, not farre from thence were slayne, and sixe or seauen other Spanishe soldiours taken, and some of their heades cutte off.

And the same euening, were the heads of two Captaines and two other Spaniardes, sette vpon long poles, vpon the
toppe

toppe of the Bullwarke in the viewe of the Enemye , where they stood vntill the next morowe.

There were also at this skirmish of the enemies side hurt and slaine betwixt thirtie and forty, some of which they caried away in a smal vessell into their trenches.

And one of the Captaynes had a chayne of golde about his necke , besides two or thre hundred crownes about him, whiche was a verie good bootie for the soldiours of the town: But in the retrayt of the enemye, the powder whiche John Scatter the Ensigne had brought thither , was sette on fier, as hee helde it betwixt his armes : so that both hee and Ser-rates were shewdlye heate , and sixe or seauen others, some of which tooke no harme.

The foure and twentie of the sayd Honeth the Enemies beesette them selues in euerye corner , to dyue the Towne Castell : seauen or eyght of whiche they had gotten at theyr commaundemente : But they were so worthely pursued, as that the Enemye was fayne to forgoe them , leauinge beehynde them for a pawne , sixe or seauen of their soldiours.

The same daye , the Raupes on the Peere, played one with the ocher with their great Ordnance, but to small purpose.

The fise and twentie of Maye in the after noone , came in a Doue , or flying Poste with Letters : In the evening was a great lyght made vppon the lowest pynacle of the Tower , wherebpon at eleuen of the clocke at nyght, issued a great number of people out of the Towne , to assyste those whiche came from our shippes with powder.

All that night the great Ordnance was heard to shoote off very terribly : But the greatest losse fell vppon our owne people. For they hearing the noyse of our men which came out of the Towne: and seeing them, thought verelye they had bene the Enemye, by meane wherof, manye lost their lyues, and cast al the powder into the water.

This

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This noyse and crye, and shooting off, of the great Ordinaunce, lasted all night long: so that the Alarme sounded in euery corner of the towne.

Neuerthelesse, the townesmen brought away with them, two or three prisoners, one of which, by the report of the enemy self, was a Captaine. They likewise, whiche accompanied those that went to the shippes, and were bringing of powder to the towne, sayde, that in their first issuing out towarde the shippes, they lost 16. or 20. of their men.

The 26. of the saide moneth, the enemy attempted an other skirmish, for the druyng of the towne cattle: howbeit they were wel ynough met with al, for they left there in payne, a Seriant of a bande, and two or three other Souldiers: and but three of the townesmen, onely hurt. At the same tyme, one of the countrey men, from whome the enemy had taken away his Cowe, went to the woode, and there tooke an horse in exchanng, and brought him home.

The 27. of the sayd moneth, at eight of the clocke at night, the enemy set vp a Gallowes on the plat fourme, and hunge vp certayne Citizens and Souldiers whom they had taken the second night before, when as they thought to haue come into the Towne with the powder. Some they hunge vp by the necke, and some by the feete, which deede, so moued our Souldiers, as that they also set vp a Gallowes on the toppe of the Bulwarke, in the sight of the enemy, where they hunge vp Maister Lambert, Maister Quirin, and a Priest, Adrian Groenenthuijch and the young ladde whiche came from the wood, notwithstanding that the latter two were condemned to bee scourged and whipped, and the boye besides, to bee burnt in the face: all whiche, accompanied the other five Souldiers that were taken in the wood: But maister Quirin his daughter, and a Maalon, that was brought from the wood, were drowned in Backnesse ditch. These twelue were executed without the consent and leaue eyther of the Magistrate or Captaynes.ouer and besides, they had taken the same night, Sir Jasper and Sir Reynold Roothoofte, Doctor Ellen, and the Preacher of the Spittle.

The 28. of May, the enemy comming with 63. ships, fought
on

on Harlem Here, with the Princes shippes, and put them to flight, with the losse of 21. vessels, on whiche victory, the enemy had the night before, greatly triumphed. The same day, the enemy assailed the forte whiche stood vpon the side of the mere: where they were chiefe brauely repulsed: howbeit when they of the forte saw, that the shippes had forsaken them, and lefte them without eyther victuall, Munition or powder, they rendred vp the Peece, with the safetie of their liues and goods.

The 30. of May, the enemy blew v by a Mine, so that thereby, three of the towne were slayne, and Captayne Aemi, with Cochim, were in great hazard of their liues. Then sounded the Alarime: and Captayne Aemi, who was as it were buried with the earth, was by the help of the pponers recouered, and another Souldier with him. And another Souldier that was caste be-
ponde the returned to the towne by reason of the smoke, without any hurt, & yet he was saluted with many a shot.

The first of June, the enemy againe, hunge v by vpon the platfourme, tenne or eleuen men. And the next morow, issued out of the towne 40. shot, to see if they could find out them which laye in the wood, but perceiuing the number of the enemy to be ouer many for them to deale withall, they retrayed, without executing that their enterpryse.

The third of this moneth, the enemy had mounted a faire square Cage, fast tyed with cordes, to the toppe of foure shippe Mastes: all open both aboue and behinde, and full of holes, out of which, the Harquebuziers might shoote: howbeit they had not shotte aboue twise, but that the townesmen, had so beaten their cordes wherewith it was bounde, as that it hunge all on the one side, and the rest fell from the toppe to the ground, and two or three of the enemies with all, making therewith an horrible shoote, by reason they fell from such an heigth: At y same tyme, a Citizen, and two messengers more were sent to the Prince, carrying with them certaine Doves for the bringyng backe of letters.

The 4. of June, the enemy caused the townesmen to sallie out of the Bulwarke, whereupon, it cost sixe of them their liues: And the next day, commaundement was giuen, that the Citizens, should eate nothing els but Graynes, howbeit, it was law-
full

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full for the souldiours to eate wheate bread as they did be-
fore.

The seauenth of the sayde moneth , the Townesmen
founde a Mine of nine faddomes deepe , dygged vnder sainte
Johns Bulwarke , to bee blowne vp : where they founde a
dead man , a Porpon , and a white lose : , But the eigth day ,
came in a Doue sente from the Lorde of Batenbrough , by
whome hee wrote , that hee much merueyled , that they had
not receyued Letters , by those Doues which came before from
him , and that the Prince woulde shortly sende them ayde ,
which was but a colde comfort to the poore Citizens.

The nienth of the same moneth , the Townsmen gaue
the Enemye a breakefaste from out of the Wood Gate , bee-
cause they sayde , that they had neyther bread nor beere in the
Towne.

The tenth of June were fixe of the Sworne men cho-
sen , for the continuall looking to , and vnderstanding of the
Letters sent by the Postes in the ayre : beecaule the Citizens
were not well pleased , that that businesse was so slenderly loo-
ked vnto . The same day were killed with a Cannon shot , Pe-
ter Johnson the carpenter , Simon Scoze , and two young chil-
dren.

This daye the Enemye blewe vpp a myne : howbeit
there was no hurte done : But yet through the fauour of
the Smoke , the Townsmen wanne also an other mine of
them.

The eleuenth of this Moneth the Deane of the Cha-
nons of Harlem , and manye other Citizens beeing in the
Campe of the Enemye , desired to come to a parle with the
Townesmen , but they woulde none of that , they thanked
them.

Howbeit the nexte morrowe , the Enemies came in great
number

number out of the wood, to take the Towne kine, but after that they had losse eyght souldiours, and wee one, they retired.

The same daye, in the after noone the Enemy returned for the execution of the sayde enterpryse: But hauinge gotten fire of the kyne within their possession, fire of the Towne souldiours so played with them, as that they recovered them agayne from them, whiche dealing draue the Enemy into such a rage, as that they left playing with the souldiours, and shot at the kine.

The same daye also came a Malon from Rustenbrough to parle with the Chaptayne, howbeit he refused it.

The thirteenth of the sayde Moneth, there came flying to the Towne two Doves without Letters: in which daye the Towne souldiours had gotten a myne guarded by the Spaniardes, three of which were slayne, and the rest full of lyfe in the heeles, saued them selues.

The same daye, the Magistrate caused certayne peeces of siluer to bee coyned of tenn and twentye Soules a peece: howbeit they were not worth aboute the one halfe, in siluer.

The 15. of June the Enemy shewed him selfe readye on all handes to giue the assaulte: and through the bloweing by of a myne there were hoysed by into the ayre, betweene thirtie and ffortie souldiours of the Town, and not one of them slaine.

And eftsoones, whiles the smoake lasted, the Enemy with cartridges mounted by lustely to giue the assaulte: but when they see the Townesmen ready to receyue them, they forthwith made their retraite.

The next morowe there came in a Dove, whiche Dove, as it seemed had escaped from out of the hands of the Enemy.

The

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The same day, the enimie had againe set vpp a little house faste pinned to the toppes of foure shippe mastes, where into , they both went in, and came out behinde.

The 17. day of the same moneth, M. Serrats, and M. Boutin, were sent in a conuoy of many shotte, towardees Fuyke, to aduertise the Prince of euery thing , and carped with them certaine Doves in a basket, giuing knowledge by the making of a fier, of their safe passage.

The next morrow M. Serrats, sent one of the Doves with Letters, the contents wherof were these, that the Prince of Orange was at Leyden, that the Lorde of Batenbroughe, laye betweene Utricht and Amsterdame, to cut them from victualles, and that him selfe, would set forward the matter as much as was possible for him to doe. In this meane while, they beeganne to cast a new Rampare and ditch within the Towne, all alongst from Sainte Margarettes vnto Sainte Iohns Gate, and finished it. There was also at that tyme great miserie in the Towne: for then they beeganne to eate horses, and cowe hydes.

The 19. of the sayde moneth, came in another of the sayde Doves with the Princes Letters, written from Leyden, the contents whereof were these, that he much meruelled, that hee had not had any poste sent vnto him from the towne in al that while, seeing hee had sent postes thither both by water and by lande, which neuer came into Parlem.

The 22. of Iune there came from the wood, a Lieutenaunt or some other Officer, requiring to haue answer of his message, which he had. And the 24. which was saint Iohns day, there returned a Dove with Letters from the Prince, That his excellencie would shortly ayde them, and at that time was none other meate to be had in the Towne, but horse flesh, cattes, bread made of nauettes and of chanure seede.

The 25. of the same moneth, the Townsmen shotte from a Courtin, twice or thise through the little house that was pinned to the foure Mastes: and in the Euening, a walon shot, came from Fuyke, about the rendring by Rustenbrough, and from thence wente to the Towne.

The 27. of the sayde moneth at night, a Campsado of about
fine

Five or six hundred men was made to goe to Fuyke, hoping to be ayded by the Princes ships, but all in vaine, and therfore they returned without doing of any thing.

The 28 of June, at five of the clock in the morning, arryued an other flying post, with Letters of comfort to the Townsmen: And the night folowing was another campado of aboute a thousand men made, to go to Fuyke, howbeit the enterprise tooke none effect, because the ships holpe them no whit, which greatly discouraged the townsmen. These two nights, the enemy gaue the Alarme in many places of the towne.

The 29. was a proclamation made, that the townsmen should shew to the deputies therto appoynted, al their victuals, because the soldours vnder the colour of searching for them, robbed and spoyled the common people. The next morow returned a poste of the ayre, with two letters, wherat al the town reioyced, by reason of the good newes contained in them.

The 1. of July at 11. of the clock in the forenoone, Captayne Pellican, & Captain Cornelius Macheu, with a soldour or two withē, fel to a parle with the Enemy in a field wout the wood gate, where they shewed them the wife of an Ensigne bearer of theirs, whom they held as prisoner, who talked with her husband: And after ward the prouost Marshal of the Enemy, said, that their colonel desired to come to a parle with the Gouverneur of the town, which was brought to passe at 5. of the clock in the after noone. For after these 2. Captaines had had ech of them their safe conduct graunted, they came to a parle together. Afterwarde came the Count Duerstein accompanied with foure others, and when safeconduct was graunted on eyther side, the Burroughmaister John Fliet, captaine Steinbach, Rosoni, and Pellican, had an houres conference with him, betweene the little Wood gate, and the Water gate, deliberating thre times together one with another before they left: & the very curteously tooke their leaues.

About foure of the clock in the afternoone, a Malon page of an 18. or 19. yeares old, came running from the trench of the Enemy towards the Town, whō our soldours brought through Scaelwyke gate into the Towne: whoe sayd that they wanted victualles in the Campe, and so did they also in the towne. The next morowe, the Enemys planted all the great ordenaunce they

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they had any where, in the trenches before the Towne, and so battered Wyntzen, and Rauesstein, as that the Towne and the wall fell to the ground: they shot also through many houses, & ouerthrew great store of them: howbeit through a violent Easter winde, the little house þ was fast pinned to the foure masts ends & set vpon the platforme, was blowne downe: Thus, that which þ great Opdenance could not beat down, was by God his grace ouerthrowne by the wind. In the afternoon, was the towne neere to S. Katherins bridge beat down and destroyed. The same day was the Enemy set in order, to haue giuen the assault, wherupon the bell sounded to the Alarme, howbeit nothing ensued therof. At night the Enemy had brought to the ditches two bridges, for their better & more easie giuing of the assault: but whils þ townsmen stil waited for thē, they slew 20. of the Enemies souldiers. The same day had the Townsmen set vpon the Towne, a blacke flagge, letting the shippes therby vnderstand of their miserable distresse.

The 3. of July, the Enemy merueilously beat the Towne with canon shot: howbeit about 5. of the clock in the afternoone, the townsmen once more parled with the Enemy, at the place aforesaid. The next morow, they againe set vp the black flag, vpon the Tower, to signifie vnto the ships their great penurpe & distresse. The same day returned one of the flying postes with letters from the Prince, aduertising them, that hee meant the night following to victuall them. The same night, all the souldiers in the Towne issued out at Scaelwike gate in a Camisado, looking euery houre when the shippes should set their men on land, for the ayding and relieuing of the Towne, but it was all in vaine. The next day the Townsmen parled againe with the Enemy, to wit, 6. on either side, where was the Count Bossu, & the Count Duerstein, & foure others on the Enemies behalfe, and Steinbach, John Flic, Rosoni, Sobey, Pellican, and Cornelius Pachew, on the behalf of the Towne: but they could not agree. For the souldiers would at no hand depart the town without their armour and weapon.

The 5. of July at noone, the Princes ships shewed thē selues to þ townsmen: wherupon the citizes & a great number of þ souldiers sallied out of the town, to assist thē, which thing the Enemy seeing

seeing, gaue the Alarm befoze the bulwark, the alarme bell also sounded out, so þ the enemy was forced to recter, & then discharged they the 8. last canon shot bullets of 10256, which had beene discharged vpon the towne, frō the beginning of the siege, euen vnto þ day. The 6. of that month, was a white flagg set vpon the Tower, and they also sent by plaine force in a smal vessell, a captain of the Towne named Nicholas Barnard, to the Prince of Orange his shippes, carrying with him foure Doues, and a Letter to the Prince of Orange, aduertising, and praying him that he would send victuals by the Barques, because they were no longer able to abyde the famine.

The 7. of the said month came a letter frō þ Prince of Orange subsigned also by the last post: praying thē to haue patience for a day or two, & he would, by the helpe of God, rayse the camp of þ Enemy. Which newes greatly reioyced the citizens & soldiers of the Town: albeit euery man befoze, was ready to haue quite and cleane forsaken it: for many of them had giuen away their goodes and apparel to them that would take them, and besides, the souldieres spoyled some of them, of al they had: insomuch, þ it was a lamentable case, to see þ misery wherein they were.

The same day also the souldiers forcibly set vpon a lombard or vserers house, and tooke away all the goodes he had, for they looked euery houre when they should leaue the Towne.

The 8. of July returned a flying poste with letters from the Prince, containing, that he trusted the night following to ayde þ Towne, & that his ships shoulde giue a false Alarme to Fuyke: howbeit the whole force lighted vpon them which lay in þ wood, which newes wakned the greatest part of þ town, & aboue 2000. souldiours & citizens waiting & looking for thē, had put on white shirts to giue them the camisado, þ they might therby helpe the rest: which enterprise as then tooke not effect, which greatly discomfited the townsmen, seeing, that what by reason of famyne, and want of victuals they were wōderfully weakned. The same night þ princes ships gaue a false alarm to Fuyke, shooting off their great ordnance, wout doing of any thing þ auayled. Ther was at þ time so great a famin in Harlē, as þ many died of hōger.

The 9. of July came in a flying poste, bringing newes that the Princes people were discomfited at Hannepat; whereupon

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certaine captaines were of the opinion, that the best way was for euery man to prepare him selfe to be gone, and leaue the town with the women and children onely in it, but yet they did not so: for when the women vnderstood, that they meant to leaue them and their children in the towne, they forthwith so disorderly rann about, weeping & crying, as that no good course could be taken therein. The 10. of the said month, the soldiours of the towne prepared them selues once againe to forsake the towne: And for the making of the way sure, they first appointed seuen Ensignes for the hauntguard, the very body and strength wherof, should be altogether shot: next to it, should the magistrate, the swornmen, & citizens with their wiues & children follow: & for the rereward, they appoynted nine other Ensignes. Howbeit this enterpryse tooke no effect, by reason of a letter which came frō the enemy in the wood, containing, that as many as were in the towne should be receiued to mercy, wherupon the Almain captains & soldiers giuing credit thereto, this deuice immediatly ceased. The same day & Spaniards in tokē of victorie had placed vpon their bulwark & 9. ensignes which they had the day before wonne frō & princes people. The 11. of July in & euening 4. or 5. Ensignes of walons al shot, concluded to go out at Scaelwik gate, & indeede & greater number of the were already gotten out, with many citizens and swornmen, so & there was scarce any man left to defend & breach, which was a disordered & confused kinde of dealing: but because ther were none of those ready at hand, which had charg of the letting down of the bridges, euery man retyred with great trouble and anoye between the citizens and soldiours in euery quarter. And surely, if God of his' especiall grace had not miraculouly kept the town, the enemy might easily haue surprisid it: for ther was not a soldiour left at the breach, betwixt 11. & 12. of & clock at midnight. The same day the Townesmen wrote an answer to the Enemy, in such sorte, as that the messenger went, and came backe, twise. In which day, the soldiours had most cruelly murdered M. Quintin his daughter, and the sexten his wife of the Church, which may be an example for all such as think to do the selues good by & misery of their neighbours & fellow citizens.

The 12. of the said month in the euening, Steinbach, Rosoni, Christofer Uader & 2. Burroughmaisters, agreed with & enemy
to

to render the towne vpon composition: howbeit this composition no whit pleased Rosoni, and therefore he forthwith aduertised the other Walō captaynes, who immediately opposed theselues against it, and pulling vpon the draw bridge, would not suffer the persons aforesayde come in: neuerthelesse, at last they came in, greatly encouraging y^e citizens & souldiers, saying, that Don Fredericke would shew them greater fauour, then they eyther hoped, or yet looked for.

The 13. of the said moneth, Proclamation was made by the sou^d of the drum, that al the companies shuld assemble theselues at a certaine place, where they were asked whether they would tarry in the towne with the fauour or disfauour of the Duke of Alua, or els depart without armour and weapon: wherupon, answer was made, y^e they had rather abide in the towne, & stand at y^e curtesie of the said duke, the to depart without armour & weapon: & besides, the Scots & Easterlings were let to vnderstande, y^e they were receiued into fauour: wherfore the rest of the souldiers commending theselues to the mercy of God, waited to see what wold become of the. Whē the L. Borde had the speake of grace, he forthwith cōmanded one of his souldiers to kill him wth an harquebuzze, saying: I beseech thee friend, that, thou which hast done me many good seruices, wouldest now at this present do me the last, euē to disband thine harquebuzze vpon me, which thing y^e souldier after long refusall, accomplished. The cause why this Romane act was done, was by reason y^e the enemye had said vpon him, y^e cōposition, y^e as many as had bin at Monts in Haynault, should haue no grace shewed the. At 9. of the clock in the morning, they went out at the wood gate, to confirme this composition: and the sworn men were sent to the Towne house, to know of them, if the said composition liked them, seeing they were the men, which were to make vpon the full summe of two hundred & forty thousand flozings, which the Burroughmasters had promised for the redemption of y^e Town, to be paid at two payments: to wit, an hundred thousand flozins wth in 2. daies, & the rest within three moeths next ensuing, wth which cōposition the sworn mē must be cōfected.

Nowe, when the Cittie was peeled vpon into the duke of Alua his handes, a proclamation was forthwith made by the ringing of the great Bell, That all Citizens and soldiers, should bring in

A souldier kill
leth his captaine
being so com-
manded by

The Harlemt-
ans, for the re-
demption of their
Cittie, pay to
Don Frederick
240 thousand
Flozins.

The Cittie of
Harlem peeled
vpon to the Duke
of Alua.

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all their armour and weapon into the towne house, and that all the men should immediatly goe to the wood Abbay, the women, to the catherdral Church, and all the souldiers to Bakenesse Church: Howbeit the Scottes & Almaynes were appointed to garde the Rampares. When this was done, one Philippe Martines sometimes a Bozroughmaister; came to the wood Abbay, praying the Bozroughmaisters that they would forthwith make ready all such money as euery man was taxed to giue, to the end the towne might not be sacked, and that he was a substitute sent from the Duke for that end and purpose. At that very present also was a loafe of bread of two pound weight deuided amongst sixe men.

The 14. of July, there came agayne to the Abbey aforesaide the said substitute with Julian Romero, who put them in good hart, saying: That all thei liues were saued, by the making vp of that summe of money. The same day that the Spaniards entered, The Scots and Almaines were commanded to carry their armour and weapon to the towne house, from whence, they were conducted to the Monasteries of Saint Katherine, and Sainte Ursula, where the Spaniards kept them. Then entered don Fredericke, and the Count Bossu, and with them, a great many of Gentlemen. And the same day the Captaines and Ensigne bearers, who the day before had presented their ensignes, were led prisoners to Clyffe house. But whiles the citizens and souldiers were kept in the Church, the Spaniards sackt and spoyle some of the Citizens houses.

Souldiers hanged and their heads cut off at Harlem.

The 15. of the said month, three hundred Malon souldiours were hanged, and beheaded without any more hurt. The same day the duke of Alua came to Amsterdam, to take a view of the outward part of the Citie of Harlem: wherfore he rood round about the Town, and when he had wel viewed the platforme, and the rest of the fortres and trenches, he returned to Amsterdam.

The 16 of the said month, captam Ripperda, and his liuetenant were beheaded, & the minister or preacher of Steinbach was hanged, & 247. souldiours drowned in Harle Mere. The next morow Antony for the first payment was gathered, & one part of the souldiours were beheaded without Scaelwyke gate. The 18. daye, were more then 300. souldiours put to the sword, without the saide gate

gate, amongst whom were many citizens, who thought to passe with the soldiours, and after ward saue them selues. The same day, was Symon Symons a minister beheaded.

The 20. of July, Lancelot Biederode, Rosoni, and the receiuer of the Briele, were taken, who were beheaded at Scooten. And the 24. day al the men who had lately fled for religion, were taken, & so were likewise the Boroughmaster Peter Reis, James Gerard, treasurer, Arnold Chierry, Floreçe Willias a shoemaker, Arnold Chierry the Coeman of y^e Brooke, haguema Margliseur, Adria platermaker, Scagē & Michiel y^e sons of a walon.

The 25 of July, commaundement was giuen by the sounde of foure drums, that euerye man should make a discouery of as many as they knew to be fled, vpon paine of hanging at his own porch. And the 27. were taken Adryan Johnson, Marshall, John Fluēt, and Gerard Scouer, Burroughmaisters, John Albert secretarie, John de Fore Colonell, James Bartilmewe a Captaine, Peter Bal Sherife, and James Barnerd captaine, who soone after died in prison, and was buried in the Towne. There were also taken John Adrianson the younger liutenā Colonell, John Chierry and Peter Chierry, Ensigne bearers, and John zael vnder marshal: which may be a lamentable example for al magistrates, Captaines, citizens, and others, how euer they trust, or buyd, to or vpon the promises of peruerse, malicious, and subtil Tyrants.

The 26. of July, the Spaniards sommoned the Towne of Alkmere: But so soone as they had gotten in captain Ruchauer, they then withstoode the whole Spanish Campe, and therupon al the Spaniards retrpyed towards Harlem, where they began to mutine, which fel very wel out for the Alkmerians, because they had thē some leasure in y^e mean while to fortifie their town, wherby they might the better abide the force of these barbarous tyrants.

The 19 of this month at night, much to do there was amōgst the Spaniards in the Campe, because they woulde faine haue beene in the Towne, that they might haue had part of the spoyle with the rest: Nowe it was an hard matter for the Gouvernours to suppress these mutenyes, because they had then newly chosen other captaines, liutenantes, seriautes, and Ensigns, who were also vpon the sodains, at that present entred into the town.

A muteny amongst the Spanish soldiours.

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Suretye (Gentle Reader) it cannot be otherwise thought, but that this dissention and disorder, was euen the verpe mightie worke of **G D D**, considering the great commoditie, benefit, and gaine that redounded to these countries hereby, & it continued well neere seuen whole weekes, or thereabout. For during all this time, they could attempt nothing against the other Townes and places: and againe, the Townes hard by were in y^e meane time at good leysure to buyld them Bulwarks, & fortresses for their strength, alwaies looking and attending for the force of the enemye.

The 30. of this month, great troubles & controuersies arose amongst the Spaniards, so y^e it grew to the Alarme: wherebpon, a cornet of horsemen entred the Towne: howbeit they tarped there but a while: and the last of this moneth the Spaniards brought in 13. or 14. peeces of great ordinaunce.

The 6. of Auguste Seignieur Chiapin Utelli entred into Harlem to content and satisfie, or at least wise to agree with the soldours on his maiesties behalfe, for their payes, wherewith the Spaniards were no whit fory.

The 7. of this month, the soldours of Lazarus Muller with their Captaines were conducted out of the Towne, by certeine footemen and horsemen: And when they had brought them neere vnto Niewer church, they were discharged by captaine Broeckhuyse soldours and others. The next morrow at night, the Spaniards gaue the Alarm, and Simon Scol, who therby thought to escape, was taken prisoner. The same day the Citizens and all the Walon Captaines were brought to Scooten, which was no small grieffe to their friendes.

The 11 of this month, about thre hundred, what of Englishmen, French, Scottes, and walons, who till then lay in prison, were beheaded. And the day ensuing, was Don Fredericke, captaine generall of the Spanish camp, most triumphantly brought into the Citie: For it was agreed vpon, that euery man shoulde haue 30. crownes a peece for his wages.

The 15. of August, being one of our Lady dayes, Godfray de Amerlede, Bysshop of Harlem, verpe solemnly hallowed saint Bauons Church. And besides hee soonge masse, wher eat Don Frederick was present: Immediately after y^e the Ghospel was soonge,

The Bishop of
Harlem hallo-
weth the great
Church.

Young, & bishops secretary propounded unto y^e said Don Frede. 9. articles, which he in euery conditiō promised to obserue by an oth, & confirmed the same in the presence of the sayd bishop.

The 16. of this moneth, the Spaniards came into the cathedral Church of Harlem to passe the musters: but becaule they would haue abated them their prest money, they departed thence, without any moze to doe. Howbeit the next day following, they came againe to the Church to receiue their money, & so departed the towne, for the siege of Leyden. Neuerthelesse, after they had long consulted of the matter, they encamped before Alkmer, frō whēce in the end they went with smal honour. The same day, so soone as the Spaniards were gotten out, the Almaynes entred. And the next morrow, 18. Malon Captaynes and ensignes were beheaded at Scooten.

The 19. day, were beheaded on the Spittle key, certaine souldiers which lay sicke in the saide Spittle, and the Citizens which were carried to Scooten, were brought backe againe to the citie.

The 21. day, a general pardon was proclaymed for al the Citizens, 57. excepted, which pardon, together with the name of y^e Citizens shall hereafter be set downe.

The 20. of August, the chiefe of the sworne Brotherhood, assembled all the sworne men, & out of euery Brotherhood were 12. Pioners chosen to serue in the campe of Alkmer, about to be besieged by the enimie.

The 21. of August, the Spaniards pitched their campe before Alkmer, to besiege it, and so straitely beset it, as that no manne was able to passe either in or out. Duer and besides, they fortified them selues sundry dayes with many Fortes, or trenches, giuing sundry Alarms both by day and night: wherupō the Souldiers and Citizens had many times occasion giuen thē to skirmish.

The 15. of September at night, the townes men had surprised the Spaniards trenches without Groenenbergh, and brought with them, a rich butin to the towne, & a Spaniarde also, named Iohn Ieronimo, who discovered vnto them many secret enterprises, which the townes men after ward found to be very true: and amongst other things he said, be of good courage my maisters, for

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our men intend to batter the towne, & giue the assault the 20. of this moneth, and if they then winne it not, they will remoue, and a way. The night ensuing, the enemy summoned the towne, at the prison gate, & wise.

The 18. of this moneth, the enemy began the battery against the towne, with 20. canons, every bullet weighing 40. pounds, & continued it from morning to night, hauing spent in that while, to the number of 2036. bullets. And at 3. of the clocke in the afternoon they began the attempt at the Fishmarket gate, & the red tower, for 3. houres together: howbeit they were agayne lustely answered both with great shot, Harquebuzes, Holberdes, wild fire and stones, at the handes of men, women, and children: so that a great number of the enemies were there well cooled; and besides, the townes men had drawne by into the towne, the two bridges which were made for the Assault. The same day, the Spaniards gaue another Assault about the salt pannes, howbeit they were driuen to retyre with the losse of a great manye of their people.

The 20. of September, the enemy againe saluted the towne with 800. canon shot, & was arranged of purpose to giue the assault: howbeit the Citizens so lustely answered the with theyr great ordinaunce, as that they beat their assault bridge al to fitters. And besides, y^e citizens, womē, & childrē, had prepared an hotter messe of portage for them, then was at the first Assault.

The night ensuing, the enemy gaue them two Alarmes, and the next night after that, thre, but thanked be God, no hurt was done.

The 22. of this moneth, was braue skirmishing, to the enemies cost. For a Malon souldier of the enemies campe, came to the Towne and sayde: that at the former Assault, were aboue 600. souldiers slayne, and very neere 300. hurt, by reason whereof, as also because of the great raine that fel, they were agreed to remoue their campe.

The 25. of the said moneth, and foure dayes after, the Spaniards imbarqued all their great ordinaunce, & spoyle, sauing five peeces. The same day the towne coynd, 10500. Tinne dollers, to pay the souldiers.

The thirde of October, thre of the principall Tenters
of

of the campe were taken away, and the enemy burnt Buckler house. And the next morrowe, the rest of the great ordnance was imbarqued. The first of the said moneth, the Alkemerans issuing out of the towne, tooke from the enemy a great barke laden with spoyle, and the enemy burnt Coedike.

The sixth of this moneth, the enemy forsooke certaine forts or trenches, which the townes men sacked, and brought the butin to Alkemer. And the eighth day, the enemy set fyre on an house standing neere a myll, called the Rint myll, and so tooke Durdorppway, and from thence to Bergue. Whereupon the Citizens pursued the enemy, and in the flight, did them much mischief.

The tenth of October in the afternoone, the enemy forsooke their principall quarter and trenches, whiche was neere to the newe gate, whome the Citizens pursued euen to Heylos and Costell, greatly annoyng them, and besides brought backe with them to the towne good store of butin. Thus was the good Citie of Alkemer by Gods helpe, and their lustie defence, deliuered from the enemy: for the which bee all honour, glory, and prayse vnto the Lorde our God for euer.

During the siege of Alkemer, to wit, the fourth of October, in the yeere 1573. the Castle of the Rammekens in Zealande, was peelded vp into the princes handes, because that they which were within y^e castle, greatly feared, y^e the myne which was digged vnder one of the greatest Towers of the saide castle would be blowne vp, and also by reason of the assault which they saw prepared against them.

The 11. of this moneth, in the yeere aforesaide, the L. Popet the princes lieutenent for the warres, surprised by a wonderful practise, the towne of Gertrudenbergne, and slue all the Malons that lay there in garnison. Gertrudenbergne surprised.

During the time of these exploits, the duke of Alua had prepared a nauie, which, vnder the charge of the count of Bossu, kept a course to meete, & fight with the North Holland flecte: And the name of the Admirall wherein the count Bossu was, was called the inquisition. These two Nauies encountering together, there began a feareful chundring of Canon shot betweene them, and in the ioyning was a wonderful fight: and although, at the

first

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first encounter, the victorie seemed to leane to the Count Bossu his parte, yet the North Hollenders, by reason of a new strength wherewith they were supplied, had the victorie: For when they had encompassed the Admirall, they without ceasing, so plyed the Spaniards with balles of vnslaked lyme, as that they coulde not tell where to bestowe themselves: and in the meane time, the rest so lustily assailed the enemye, as that they were dyuyn to peeble vpon composition, whereupon the Spaniards were determined to haue set all theyr powder on fire, because they feared to finde no mercy at the North Hollenders hands: Nothing when the rest of the ships saw, they packt on all their sayles, and made towards Amsterdam, saue onely captaine Fessen his ship whiche was suncke with a Canon shot. After that, they brought the Count Bossu & his Spaniards with the noble prise, the Admirall called the Inquisition to the triumphant Citie of Hoerne, where they merueilously triumphed and feasted, to the great comfort of all the Countrie thereabout. And therefore the towne of the North Holland, to wit, Anchusen, and Hoerne, are worthe all commendation for euer for their valiant and renowned actes in the defence of their countrie.

The first siege
of Leyden.

When the Spaniards saw that there was no way for them to winne Alkmer, and hauing vnderstood that Leyden was well provided for, both of victuals & munitiō, they vpon good aduise removed thence, & marched on towards Leyde, where they encamped themselves, & planted theyr ordnance the last of October, before the saide towne, being in good hope to winne it, because of their want of victuals: and they so straitly besieged it, as that no man coulde once stirre out thereof.

Whiles the Duke of Alua his deuise & purpose was thus made voyde as well by the dishonorable retyre of his sonne Don Fredericke from Alkmer, as also by reason of Count Bossu his losse at Sea, so that, it seemed that the worlde went not on their side: News were carryed by poste into Spaine, that the Duke of Alua through his tyrannie, and obstinate demanding of the tenth pennie, had made all the whole low countries reuolt, whereby there was no likelihood nor hope of victorie. Whereupon don Lewis of Requesens the great commendator of Castil, was sent to be gouernour of the low countries, & arrived at Bruxelles the

Don Lewis de
Requesens com
eth into the low
countries.

seuen.

seuenteenth of Nouember in the yeere aforesaid.

When the Duke of Alua was called home into Spaine, hee being mindefull of his owne profit, leuied a great summe of money of the merchants, because he meant to carry home a greate butin with hym. And being lodged at the house of one John Persins in Amsterdā, from whence hee intended to depart the countrie, hee caused it to bee proclaimed twise by the sounde of the Trumpet, that as many as he owed any thing vnto, shoulde repayre thither and receiue their money. Whereupon, manie came to his lodging, one demaunding two thousand crownes which hee had disboursed for him in readie money: another two thousand five hundred, and so a great many mo, according to the proportion of their due. When the Duke had seene this account, hee appointed euery of them to resort vnto him y next day at eight of the clocke in the morning, to receiue their money: howbeit hee was somewhat earlier then they, and departed timely in the morning, without bidding them once farewell.

The Duke of Alua playeth the bankroue.

Thus, when the said Duke had (as aforesaid) most tyrannously and cruelly gouerned the lowe countries and brought it into extreme pouertie, miserie, and desolation, he returned thence into Spaine, leauing there behinde him a great number of widowes, and fatherles children, without either wealth, kinned, or friends, and so got him out of Bruxelles the tenth of Decēber 1573.

The great Commendator being receiued for gouernour, arrived at Antwerpe, where, was a Naue prepared by Sea, to reuertuall and ayde Middlebrough in Zealand, being very straitly besieged by the Prince of Orange his people: and as the saide Commendator greatly desired to haue the battaille goe on his side, so likewise woulde hee be an eye witnesse thereof: & there, upon going to Bergues vpon Zoom, got himself that day that the battaille shoulde be fought, vpon the top of the wall, or dyke bancke to beholde it: where hee manifestly and in deed saw, that in steede of victorie which he had promised to himselfe, his Spaniards and Walons were banquished, many plunged euer head and eares in the water, and many lead away pysoners, being in this sort hanseled with a new yeeres gift, the second of Ianuarie in the yeere, 1574.

The victory of the Englishers.

After

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After that they of Middlebrough, had by this long, strait, and hard siege beene weered, and left bare and naked without all hope of ayde, and succour, because the Flushingers had oftentimes beene victors at Sea, and taken such a number of wel appointed shippes with great ordnance and other munition, and besides, had gotten thereby great and rich prizes, their heartes were in their hose: Insomuch that by reason of the great pueritie, miserie and famine which they had sustained, they were diuened of necessitie to peeble themselves into the Prince of Oranges handes, whose souldiers entred into it the 22. of February, and his excellencie, the 24. of the said moneth in the yeere aforesaide.

During these exploytes, Duke Christopher of Baviere, the sonne of count Palatine the Elector, accompanied with the two brethren, Count Lodwyke, and Count Henrie of Passou, came in the middelt of Winter, with a good sort both of horse men and footemen, within two myles of Mastricht: wherupon the Spaniards which lay at the siege of Leyden, were diuened of necessitie to rayse their siege the 21. of March in the yeere aforesaid, to resist them.

The battaile at
Boquerhead.

When the Lords aforesaid vnderstood that the Spaniards were comming on to seeke them out, they marched on, and encountered them at Boquerhead: where a great many of the souldiers, hauing nothing els in thei moutches, but money, money, refused to fight: wherupon, these valiant Noble men with the rest of thei people were enforced of necessitie to abyde the charge of the enemy, loosing there, both iourney and life at once, after they had the fourteenth of April 1574. valiantly fought it out.

The mutinie of
the Spaniards
in Antwerpe.

When the Spaniards had wonne this victorie, they againe mutined for their pay: but by the aduise of Sancho de Auila, they were conducted to Antwerpe, where they ioyntly entred into the Castle the 26. of Aprill, receiuing to their contentment, from the great commendator, which hee had extorted bypon the Citizens of Antwerpe, the summe of foure hundred thousand florins, vsurping on them all kinde of crueltie, and warlike licence & libertie.

Moreouer, the Lorde of Champigni, gouernour of the sayde
Towne,

Towne, was by them enforced to pack out thereof, with all his Malons: and because they feared the shippes of warre, whiche lay there neere for the defense of the citie, well purued of all sortes of munitions, they made them depart, and ryde farder off from thence.

Whereupon the Flushingiers being thereof aduertised, sur- A victorie of
Flushingiers.
prised them on a whitsunday, when as the Spaniards were feasting and banqueting in al their iollitie, tormenting & mauling the pooze Citizens of the citie.

After the discomfiture of the aforesaide Lordes, the Spaniards being aduertised that the Towne of Leyden, sitthence Leyden besieged
the second time.
theyr departure was unprouided of victualles, and munition, they encamped before it, and planted theyr batterie, the twentie and sixt of May, and more straitly enclosed it then they did at the first. For the Spaniards had built in diuers places aboute the water side, 22. Bulwarks, in either of which, were two or three peeces of great ordnance: The historie of which siege here after ensueth.

Nowe before such time as I take in hand to touch and handle the principall matter, I am (Gentle Reader) to beseech thee not to take in euill part, my summarie declaration of this warre of Hollande and Zeelande, although it bee heere before described. And first to beginne with all, The Duke of Alua hauing seene that the taking of Mons in Haynault, the wonderfull departure of Count Lodwyke of Nassou, with the mightines and strength of his arme, and the horrible murder at Paris, had made readie so open a way for his bloody tyrannie: hee like vnto a seconde Antiochus, full of all pride and arrogancie, pursued his victorie, and to beginne withall, hee in October, first sacked the Towne of Malines. After that, because hee would shewe his furie and insatiable crueltie, hee the sixteenth of Nouember caused a houe five hundred men and women to bee murdered, hanged, headed, and drowned, at the Towne of Zurfhen: and within a while after, hee committed another farre more cruell and horrible slaughter at the Towne of Rarden, where hee slue as it were all the whole Towne, after hee had made them manie false promises, and bereft them of theyr armour and weapon, pursuing afterwarde with tyrannie the Townes of Hollande.

Howbeit

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Howbeit the Almighty God, whose mercy is alwayes most seene in the time of necessitie, toke them into his protection, miraculously sending vnto them the Prince of Orange, as a second Judas Machabeus, to resist the bloodie tyrant.

Nowe it is well enough known by the Storied which haue gone before, what the bridge was, ouer which he entered into the garden of Holland, before the citie of Harlem, for the committing of his cursed murders, here before largely enough set downe, after it had abidden the siege for the space of eight moneths: where Don Fredericke, the saide Duke his sonne, was generall of the campe, who followed the fathers owne naturall inclination (hauing for all that lost at that siege, about twelue thousand men, through the valiantise of the Harlemians) after that the towne was rendred vnto him, through the discomfiture of the princes armie, and extremitie of the famine, caused about two thousand three hundred souldiers to be executed by sword, halter, and the water, who valiantly had defended this towne: in so much, that the Gentle Reader may manifestly consider, that at that time, the Hollanders were euen vp to the chinne in the water, readie to be drowned, and sincke to the ground. For, through the losse of Harlem, Alkemer, and Leyden, they were all in great danger. Howbeit, the Lord God, who commonly deliuereth his from oppression, depriued the Spaniards of their reasonable vnderstanding, when as through their mutinie, they leaue pursuing of their victorie: which caused the Hollanders to take courage againe vnto them, fortified their townes, and by a common accorde agreed to abide & susteine a defensiu warre, for the defending of their wiues & children, and to hazarde their bodies and goods, for the benefit and welfare of their countrie. Which in very deepe cleerely appeared by them of Leyden, who, according to the right custome of warres, burnt and pulled downe halfe a myle about the towne, all the houses, castles, villages, monasteries, and trees, thereby to fortifie their towne, and weaken the enemy. And so likewise had the Alkemerians done.

And to speake the truth, the peeling by of Harlem, was a great losse to the Hollanders: but on the other side, whosoever will consider and weigh, what townes and fortresses of the enemy

my, the Lorde God hath giuen & deliuered vnto them, shall find, that their conquest hath byn greater then their losse. For, they conquered the castle of the Rammekens in Zelande, called Zeabrough, wherby, they not only became maisters ouer all Zeland, but obtained the key of the Sea, and of all the low countries. And shortly after, the L. Lewys of Boyset, Admyral of þ quarter of the sea for the Prince of Orange, wanne a iolly victory againt the armie by Sea, which was set forth of Antwerpe : where tenne of the greatest ships with the Admirall of the enemy were taken, besides those that were sounke, and the souldiers which were cast ouer the boord, saue only their Captaine Iulian Romero, who saued himselfe by swimming, where they lost aboue 1500. of their best Souldiers, as well Spanyardes as others.

The iolly victory likewise in North Hollande, which the balliانت Captayne Nicholas Ruychauer of Harlem had againt the Armye of Amsterdam : where were taken Prisoners the Count of Bossue, and with him many moe aswel Spaniards as others, that were in the Admyrall, whiche they thought inuincible.

I will here for this time passe ouer the siege of Alkmer, and the shameful retraite of Don Fredericke, after he had giue 7. assaults. And also the Duke of Alua his retrayte into Spaine and howe, to his shame, the proud Image which stood in the Castle of Antwerpe, was destroyed and carried away. Besides the Arriual of the greate Commendator of Castile, Don Lewys de Requesens, and the seconde battell that was fought at Sea. And to make an ende, I leaue to the Historiographers, þ surpyssing of the Towne of Gertrudenberge and manye other skirmishes, and thinges, because I woulde returne to the said siege of Leyden.

The Towne of Leyden then, was for the first time, besieged from the last of October 1573, vnto the 21. of Marche 74. For at that tyme the siege was rayled, by reason of the coming downe of Count Lodwyke of Nassou into the low countries: so that as then, Holland was as it were, quite ridde of al souldiers. For the famous P. of Orange came with his army to Gouicque by Bommel, whenas the great commendator laye not farre

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off with his. The principall cause, why the Prince of Orange pitched his campe there was, for that his brother Counte Lodwyke had writtten vnto him, from about Mastricht, that he proposed the next morrowe to depart from thence with his armie, and woulde bee at Herwerd, betwene the Rhine and the Maize, by reason hee meant there to set ouer his horse men, and ioyn with his brother, and therefore requyred the Prince his brother to come and meete him with his men, Shippes, Barques, and Bridges. And although this aduertisement nothing pleased his brother, seeing that by reason of the shortnes of the time, it was impossible to send into the riuer, these warlike preparations and furniture, yet came he with his armie, to the place aforesaide, vsing these or such like speeches: although the comming of my brother is a thing whiche I like well of, yet I woulde he were an hundred myles off with his armie. For, his Excellencie knewe right well, that his comming coulde not bee without great danger, as the issue thereof in the end, cleerely shewed. Howbeit, as afoze hath been saide, this holpe the Leydens well.

The Commendator afozesaide, who after the victorie at Mooker head, against Duke Christopher of Bauiers, the Count Palatine his sonne, Count Lodwike, and Count Henrie his brother, seemed to bee very quiet and still, was not for all that ydle with his counsell at Buxels, but had conceived in his head three enterprises. The first was, to subdue North Hollande: The seconde, to make himselfe master of the Maize: and the thirde, once againe to besiege Leyden, for hee was thoroughly informed by the Popish fugitiues, and others their fauours which were in the towne: that they had neither garnison, nor yet corne, & that the villages were bare, by reason of the continuall forestalling of certaine ill willers.

Nowe, all the worlde knoweth, what good successe the firste enterprise which hee tooke in hande against the North Hollanders had, for he lost at it aboue two thousand souldiers. And besides, y successe of his Antwerp armie (which should haue made him master of the Maize) before Lillo, is at large set forth by the dead and drowned souldiers, and the Ships which were brought into Zealande, and the taking of the vice Admirall, Adolf of Hamsted. There resteth now no more but the third enterprise, which

which is the sieg of Leyden.

The twentieth and five of May, at two of the clock in the morning, there came before this Towne, Frauncis Baldez with an armie, betweene seuen and eight thousand men, both of Spaniards, Malons, and Almaines. His first arryual was from Amsterdam, by Harlem Mere, with ships, Caruelles, & Barkes laden with men and victuals, harde to Leperdorp bridge, where they stroke sayle. And about midnight, there issued out of the Towne a certaine Captaine, named, master Andrew with thirtie souldiers, who falling into the Spaniards hands, was carried away with a shot, dead, before the Towne. Howbeit the Citizens got him vp, and carryed him to the Towne, and there honorably buried him: neuerthelesse they leaft in his place a dead Spaniard, whome they had taken prisoner.

As the enemye was arriued at Leyden, they began againe to make their first trenches & bulwarks, & citizens which were by & Rampares, began about the day breake to march with two or three Ensignes of souldiers towards Zoeterwood, part of which carryed still at the said place, and the rest went to the Trench, or Fort of Leyderdam, which Fort through the negligence of the Townes men was whole and sounde. The Leydens, sent messengers to Hay, Delft, Roterodam, and Dortright, where at that present was arryued the Prince of Orange, hauing rayled his campe about Bommell, to the ende hee might preuent and stoppe the enemye. But the valiant Captaine Ruychauer which was at Hay, receiued the newes somewhat too late: and yet neuerthelesse, through his industrie and diligence he did so much, as that, what by reason of the Trenches and Skymishes at the Spirite bridge, they of the religion whiche were in Hays, saued the greater part of their moueables, although the Papists came & day in the euening, not only to Hay, but also to Leyderdā.

But when the rest of Baldez armie a fewe dayes after arriued in two companies: the one from Utright towards Goude sluse, and Alsen: and the other from Harlem, by Northwyke to Falkeborough, at which places the Princes people had two fortes, and at euery fort five hundred English men, vnder the conduct of Edward Chester, the saide English men abode the first Shocque or charge.

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The Englishe
men driuen out
of their fort

For Goude sluse was hoatly assailed by the Papistes that came from Altright, howbeit the Englishmen lustily repulsed them to their great shame and losse, and that by the valiancie of Captaine Genforde an English man. But because the horsemen, had none other way to come into Holland, but by these fortes, they were enforced by very lustie hand strokes so to continue the assault, as that the Englishmen were driuen of necessitie to forsake the saide fort: which had not beene so lightly done, if their companions at Alsen, which is but halfe a myle thence, had done their dutties as well as they which were in the saide fort: for as they were coming to aide them, the fort was alreadye wonne: wherefore they all fled at once.

To be short, the Spaniard payed dearly for this victorie, for it caused many wagons laden with dead bodie to bee brought thither. In this maner then, the 27. of May, ioyned in part the first troupe that came from Altright, to the campe of Baldez at Leperthorpe. & the rest passing the linkes went to Hay.

The thirde troupe also passing the twentieth & seuen of May by Northwyke, arryued before the great fort which was not fully finished: But the five companies of Englishmen had forsaken it before they sawe the enemy: although they had the night before, requyred the Leydens of certaine horsemen, to discover the enemy, whom, as they saide, they had not as yet perceiued and seene: albeit they had drayne themselves neere to Vladdyng, where the Spaniarde pressing harde vppon them, gaue them the skirmishe, whiche skirmishe, the Citizens saw as they stood vpon the Rampares, and besides, they neuer saw either on the side, or yet on the other, any man fall downe dead, although they had beaten one another with shot along time together, which dealing the Citizens greatly suspected.

When this false skirmish was finished, the Englishe men approached neerer the towne, to wit, betweene the Citizens Trenches that ranne betweene Boshouse bridge and the towne: so that the Captaine and certaine with him, came into the towne, making this contract with the Citizens, That when the saide Captaine shoulde see himselfe and his put to the worse by the Spaniardes, that they shoulde then retire vnder Hay gate, where the greatest parte of the great ordnance was planted: But
so

so soone as they shoulde see the Ensigne taken from the gate, that both he and his shoulde drawe towardes the side, for then they meant to discharge all the great ordnance vpon the enemye.

But time shewed that this conclusion no whit liked the Englishmen. For they were no sooner out of the Towne, but that they marched towards the enemye with ensigne displaide, where they were vpon a certaine condition reuerently receiued. Howbeit an harder matter befell them immediacly after, for they had not bene there very long, but that they were commanded to put out theyr matches, and the horsemen that came from Forscote, drane them before in chafe vpon the Spaniards: whiche thing certaine of them to the number of thyrty two, or thirtie and three seeing, amongst whome were certaine officers both English, & Flemish, retyred themselves againe vnder the towne, who not long after got into it.

The rest were had to Falkebrough, where theyr armour and weapon were taken from them before Tozensleete house, and the next morowe being vncased of their gallant apparrell, were carried to Harlem, where, som of them were put to be Pyoners, and some of them passing through Flanders, returned into England.

But heere I am not to forget one thing, that some of these souldiers which coulde not tell by what meanes to get into the Towne, chose rather to leape from the scuse into the water, and so drowne themselves, then so vilanously fall into the handes of the enemye.

By this meane then was the towne of Leyden, in foure or fve quarters besieged, and the enemye had built round about it, sixtie and two fortres. When Leyden was nowe in this estate, the Citizens had forthwith aduertised his Excellencie lying at Dor-
 ight of the matter. Howbeit, the Prince hauing aduertisement heereof, before theyr letters came to his handes, sate in councell with the deputies of the Estates of Hollande, which were there present, and so the 27. of May, wrote to the Leydens as followeth.

His Excellencie hauing delibered with the Estates aforesaid thought it most expedient, That Colonnell Chester, who was

A notable hystorie of the ciuill

at Falkbrough with 600. souldiers, or there about, shoulde, if it were possible, enter into Leyden, which by that meane mighte take away all hope & occasion, either of the besieging or assailing of it any longer.

His excellencies
advises to the
Leydens

Duer and besides, that the Magistrate shoulde cause all the beggers and impotent persons to depart the Towne, which might rather trouble then ayde them in theyr distresse. And besides, to take such order for the sparing deliuerie of their victualles, as that they might serue them for 3. monethes: exhorting them of himselfe, that they would valiantly behaue themselues as hee fully and wholly trusted they would: and in the meane whyle, that his Excellencie, and the Estates would not forget to seeke by all meanes possible, theyr ayde and deliuerance from the enemye.

And although y this could not so soone be brought to passe as they wished, yet not to be thereby discouraged, but rather constantly persist in a short trouble and distresse, then yeeld themselves to an eueralasting thraldome and misery. And to that ende hee would haue them consult and take aduise together, discretely and wisely weighing, if they could in so needfull a case, to withstand the time of the saide three monethes, for feare of falling into the mischief and miserie of the Harlemlans, and if so be they were able to withstand the said three monethes, that then they should giue two nights ensuing at midnight, a signe with fire, to the ende the answer might not come to the enemies hands.

The day before that they receiued this answer, The Leydens had already made proclamation, that all the women, chyl-
dren, and strangers passengers should get them out of the town. And Butter, Oylke, Flesh, Bread, & such like necessary chinges were set at a reasonable price. The Brewers also were forbidden to brewe any beere aboue twenty and five soules y barrel, which thing, alas, was euill obserued. The 30. of May they answered the said letters, much like as followeth: That as for Colonell Chester and his souldiers, that the matter stood in another state, as they had written to his Excellencie in their former letters which were intercepted.

The answer of
the Leydens to
his excellency.

And

And as for their victuals, there shoulde bee no fault in them, but that they would stretch them out to the uttermost, neither would they suffer any vnprofitable person consume them if it were possible for them to doe it. Howbeit that they were not able to abide to carrie so long: notwithstanding, that they would write to him hereof more at large, & in the meane while repose all their trust and confidence for their deliuerance, in the assistance of God, his Excellencie, and their fellow brethren, & confederates. In that they would not giue any tokens with fire, was because the enemy should not thereby any way suspect their extreeme necessity, and so the rather more strictly inclose them, & thereby stop those wayes which are now free and at libertie for their messengers to passe. And besides, they sent for powder, and wrote that they were reasonably well determined to keepe the Towne, and therefore would put their Citizens in pay.

They sent also vnto his Excellencie, the copie of certaine letters which the enemy had written vnto them, by which they vnderstood that the enemy had small hope of going forward in forcible maner. Last of all, they most humbly besought his Excellencie to haue a fatherly care of them, as their trust was in him, and hasten their deliuerance, but yet not so, as that the ouer hast therein might breake the necke thereof.

The Prince of Orange being greatly troubled for the town of Leyden, because it was vnfurnished of souldiers: and by reason also that it was not, according to his commandement, sufficiently purueyed for of corn, & other warlike munitions, & fearing likewise that his letters of the 27. were by the enemy intercepted, wrote vnto them § 29. another to § same effect, with this addition: That if they well considered of the strength of their Towne, although that the Englishmen were not with them, yet that they might very well keepe out the enemy for 3. monethes, for if they were of one mind & consent, it was impossible for the enemy to take them perforce.

An other letter
sent by the prin-
ce of Orange to
Leyden.

Moreouer, they were well to weigh and consider, that if so bee they did not all that was possible for men to doe, that they should not only loose the Towne of Leyden, but also all the whole Countrie besides, whiche should bee to them and their successors a most cursed and shamefull reproch for euer.

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And therefore that they were lustily to hold out the enemy, and so be the cause of not onely preserving themselves, but of the whole countrie also, and get themselves thereby, an everlasting famous name. And for the better effecting of this matter, sparingly to spend their victuals, after the example of the Harlemians, and Middleburghians.

Nowe followeth the answer to these letters, written the first of June : Although their coyne would not stretch so farre as the time mentioned in those letters, yet they hoped, lustily to holde out the force of the enemy, during the time aforesaide, yea they were fully resolved rather to abyde the extremitie of famine, then to become their enemies slaues. In the meane whyle, they required that the Delftians, Roterodamians, and Goudians, might be forbidden to suffer any victuals passe out of any of them by lande, because the enemy should thereby be greatly weakened. Protesting against them, that if they otherwise did, y they more sought their owne private gain, then y endomaging of those, who went about none other thing, but the turning away of the enemy from their gates, &c.

And nowe let vs againe returne to Frauncis Baldez his enterprises. So soone as Baldez had, in this maner without anie great ordnance besieged the towne of Leyden : For hee right well knewe the merueillous charge of that, which was planted before Harlem, and withall the small effect it wrought : he therefore knowing that it would be lesse auaille against this towne, whiche was so notably strengthened with mightie strong Rampares, he thought him, either by sugred speeches, cunning letters, or seuerer threats to subdue it : And for so much as hee had many fugitiue Hollanders with him, whome were at his becke and commandement, and at that time called in the Hollanders language *Glippers*, he intended to imploy them about these affaires, and it may bee y it was their owne sute and request, seeing there were some of them too too carelesse for the losse and libertie of their countrie : and therefore thought by theyr sundrie letters, written from diuers places to the Leydens, to draw them to the call, and so deceiue them : some of which said letters shalbe here set downe at large as they were written, and the brieue contents onely of other some.

And

And firste and foremost, John Adryan son the wyld, and
 Etwout Arent, the sonne of Gerard, sente the twentie eyght
 of Maye from Harlem, to the Magistrate, and whole body of
 the Towne, the Letters hereafter following, signed with their
 hands, but not all written by the, which made the matter great-
 ly to be suspected, that the Letters were no parte of their in-
 vention.

My Maysters, the great and singular affection and loue
 which we haue vnto our Countrie, accompanied with an horri-
 ble terrour and heart breake, haue beene the cause to let you vn-
 derstand, that wee foreseeing you, my maysters, to be in great
 hazarde to fall into extreame calamitie and miserie, if you in
 minde persist to defende the Towne of Leyden against his ma-
 iesties will and honour, our most gentle Lorde and naturall
 Prince: seeing we are moze then informed, of the innumerable
 numbers of men of warre already assembled, and doe yet still
 assemble both on foote and on horsebacke, with purpose to come
 downe into our pooze and desolate countrie of Holland: some
 of which are already on the way, and are dayly still comming
 on, and chiefly to set vpon you, my maisters, and to turne you
 cleane out of your dozes: ouer and besides a great number of
 Spanish shippes, dayly approching, which are prepared and fur-
 nished for the same effect. Wherefore my maysters, we har-
 tely beseech you, to haue a very good and discrete regard vn-
 to this matter, and looke throughly vnto it, that you be not
 ouer long in deliberating hereon, least by your obstinate pur-
 pose and intent, all good meanes be altogether cut off and taken
 from you.

For you, my maisters, knowe well enough the mea-
 ning and purpose of souldiers, who onely are enclined to sacke
 and spoyle, for their particullar profit: beseeching you likewise
 to haue regarde to your pooze wiues and children, your misera-
 ble olde fathers and kinsfolkes, who are no way able to helpe
 and relieue you: and be not the cause of suffering that to be lost
 and euill dealt withal, which ought so much to be had in honour
 with you, and amongst the rest, the little wealth and substance,
 which yet remaineth, through the insupportable exactions, by

A Letter sent to
 the Leydens by
 certeine fugi-
 tiue Hollanders

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you my maysters, as it were for the space of two yeaeres byhol-
den, which wee daye and night see before our eyes . For this
cause, we in the beholding of you, are emboldened to exhibite a
certeine supplicatiō to Monsieur de Liques, Gouvernour of Har-
lem, a very curteous, ciuill and discrete noble Gentleman, and
bozne within his Maiesties lowe Countries, where al his welth
lyeth, who is wonderfully enclined to vnitie, peace and tranqui-
litie: who hath answered vs : that if you your selues would be-
come sorry and repentant, and so submit you vnto his Maiestie,
that he knoweth such a way for the sauing both of your bodyes
and goodes, as you your selues cannot wish a better, alwayes
prouided that this submission be made, before such time as you
be moze straightly couped vp by his maiesties garrisons.

And for this cause, my maisters, hee hath inioyned vs,
to aduertise you, that the Lordes of the Towne might deuise
to set downe certaine pointes and Articles, with such conditi-
ons as you would craue your pardon, extending the same no
farther, then to you should seeme most expedient, and to sende
the same ouer with all possible speede vnto the sayde Lorde de
Liques, who will procure you a fauourable answer, and giue
you good direction to the great Commaundator of Castile, now
Gouvernour for his Maiestie, of all his Low Countries. For,
we know not better howe to counsell you, then to be directed
by him, who likewise made the League at Mons in Haynault,
which in euery condition was fully and wholly obserued accor-
ding to the promises, and which we also trust, that you wil moze
firmely keepe.

Beseeching the Lord God, that it would please him so to in-
spire you with his holy spirit, as that at last you hauing by it a
right iudgement, be not caried away with an obstinate and fro-
ward constancie, to refuse that good occasion which presently is
offered you for your so great aduantage.

The 29. of May, Gerard of Hooghstrate, wrote two Let-
ters from Leyerthorpe, the one to the Leydens, which was
unsealed, and without superscription: And the other, of the same
effect, to his colin Gerard Johnstō. It is insinued to y^e Burrough-
maysters, that by the ordenaunce of the Captaines which were

at

Other letters
sent from the
Spaniolated Hol-
landers to Ley-
den.

at Leperthopp, namely Le Drossat of Medd, and Gerard of Sichem, aduertised them of the singular grace and fauour, which should be graunted to the Leydens, if so be they woulde in any reasonable order submit them selues vnto his Maiestie: and that they should haue a gracious and commendable pardon.

Wherefore, if they were so minded, that they might send their deputies: and for the suertie of their persons, they offer the sayd Captayne and Drossat to bee their Ostages or pledges, and to come to the Towne, vntill such time as they had conferred with Frauncys Baldez, Generall of the Campe, who then laye at Hape, &c.

The Townesmen, after the Romayne and Grecian manner, briesflye answered these Letters in this one verse following.

Fistula dulce canit, volucrum dum decipit Auceps: That is to say, The Fowler with the sweete call of his pipe, beguileth the Bird, and driueth him into his net.

The sayde Hooghstrate wrote another Letter the same day, vnto his Cousin, aduertising him, that he feared, that his firste Letter, which he sent by a mayde seruaunt, neuer came to his handes: seeing he had receyued a Letter, endorsed: To Master Gerard of Hooghstrate: But nothing was written in it saue, *Fistula dulce canit &c.* without any subscribing: which caused him to write another Letter, to put him in minde of the contents of the firste, aduertising him, that it would turne neither to a fable, nor yet to any merrye iest, if the Leydens contemned his Maiesties pardonne, greatlye threatening the Townesmen besides, with the great preparation and furniture now ready in hand, and yet still in preparing and furnishing for the chastising of obstinate rebels, with many such other like reasons.

The 29. day aforesaid, John le Hutter, wrote a letter from Hape to the Burroughmaisters of Leiden, as it were to the same effect, & Hooghstrate his letter was. He wrote, that some of his Maiesties men of war, were returned againe into the countrie, to the end to ease and deliuer the payssautes, of the great charges and exactions which were layde vpon them, and also of the Leydens, & to offer them a general pardon, aswel for the offences committed

They Spanya-
lated John le
Hutter writeth
to the Leydens.

in.

A notable hystorie of the ciuill

in the yeare 1566. as at this present: and certified (as he which hath seene the p[re]cinctes of the exceptions) that no person within Leyden is excepted in the sayde pardon, because they had about a month sithence refused to take in the Princes men of war, saue onely now about two daies past.

And therfore he aduised them to accept of his Maiestties grace, while it is time, to the ende they fell not through the force of the Camp, which was at hand, into extreame miserie and calamitie. And that Seignieur Baldez would make intercession for them by his Letters, vnto the great Commaundatoz, that they might euen with the first commiers haue their pardon: and therefore if they minded to accept thereof, that they shoulde send their deputies to parle of the matter. For so soone as they had gotten their pardon, they should then be charged but with a small garrison of Almaines: promising them all ayd & assistance for the doing hereof.

The same daye also wrote John Gautier of Mybesma, to the Leydens, vehemently byging the matter in the beginning of his Letters, and greatly commending their fidelitie, in that they had not receyued in, any of the Princes Garrisons, supposing that the same would greatly auaille them, and was a singular seruice for his maiesttie.

He also set before them as the rest did, the general pardon, and that it was not the kinges pleasure, that there should be any effusion of bloud within his Cities and Townes. Counselling them to keepe their Gates fast locked, as well against his Maiestties people, as also against the Princes, vntill such time as they had obtained their request, and gotten it signed with the kinges owne hand, promising them in the meane while to lye quietlye and still, without doing any hurt to their Towne, and that they would giue commaundement, that all their Cattell should freely feede in their medowes, and pastures. Offering them to come in person to Leyden, and hazarde with them both theyr bodies and goodes: promising besides, that for seauen yeares space, no nor whiles he lyued, they should haue any Garrison in the Towne, for he knew what the expresse charge was, which he had from his Maiesttie.

Deale

Deale not (saith hee) with anye manne, and let none enter, vntyll such tyme as I my selfe haue talked with you, and write vnto mee an aunswere heereof, and let euery of vs be loyall and faithfull.

My intent and purpose was, here to set downe the Hispaniolized Hollanders letters, thereby to shewe the constancy of the good Citizens, who notwithstanding this sweete and sugred writing, and cruell threates, calling to minde the confederacye which they had made with an othe, remaining firme and constāt, made these letters profitable vnto them. Let these letters and Citizens therfore, be an example to all the rest of the Cities and townes, which hereafter may be besieged, that in this or the like occasion, they become stedfast and constaunt, and keepe their faith and promise with their fellow countrie men.

After that the Papistes aforesaid had been in councell at Zoeterwood, and had there as in other places, inforced the paystants to lade theyr boates and barkes with earthen cloddes, seeing what small effect their letters had wrought, but onely discovered thereby their owne intent and purpose, and encouraged the Citizens, they so straitly hemmed in, and couped by the Citie with their Trenches and Forts, at Poele bridge, and Harlem Mere bridge, as that from thence forth nothing could be carryed to the town, but in marueilous danger, which before might easily haue been done, & in this maner the Goudeans attempted this enterpryse the 6. of June.

Certaine Citizens who by the sodaine besieging of the Towne, wild they nild they, were shut out of Leyden, had laden by his excellencies lycence, and the assistance of the Gouernour and Burroughmaisters of Goude 30. Barkes, with wheat and Rye. By reason that two Paysaunts and a Marshall had bragged that they would guyde them in a secrete way through Coppiereka, which they had cut through, and after got into the barks to conduct them to Leyden.

Nowe the Barques being well furnished with water men, and hauing also in euery of them two souldiers, sayled by nyght to the sayd Coppiereka, which they found to be very deepe cut, howbeit the paysaunt which should haue bene their Pylot was not there: wherefore they sayled on, and where they should haue taken

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taken the left hande way, they tooke the right, sayling still a wronge course, vntill such time as the day beganne to breake: and they thought the Paylant had betrayed them, who indeed, by reason of the greate payne that hee had taken, was fallen a sleepe behinde in the way. Wherefore they returned backe to Gaude, without executing of this enterprise.

When the Leydens heard of this enterprise they tooke al the paynes that was possible to receiue them, for they attended the saide Barques on the Rhin, with certayne Freebutters, or rather desperate Aduenturers Boates, but all in vayne for this matter, and yet their goyng out was not altogether in vayne, for they tooke by force neere vnto Haynault bridge two wasters, and speedily dispatched those that were within them. When they had thus done, they vnladed these shippes of all the prouision and furniture that was within bozde, as artillary, munition, victualles, bread, beare, silkes, & beluets, parchments lace of gold, siluer, and silke, fifteene peeces of ordinaunces called Bales, three Barrelles of Cozne powder, and a very great number of bullets, and fraught their owne boates with them. Afterwarde, they bouged one of the enemies vessels, and sounke her, and set fire on the other, returning in the morning with their prize to the Towne. The Spanyardes who encamped at Leyerthorpe, made their account to stay these boates with all the whole prize within them, at the wood bridge: but the Citizens beyng in armour, looking for the comming of their boates with the victualles aforesayd, very couragiously salyed out of Hoogweert gate, and gaue the Alarime to Leyerthorpe forte, and skirmished so lustely with their enemies, as that the boates and the prize passed by: and besides, they afterwards for the defence of the cattell, which the enemy went about to carrye away, so skirmished with them, as that they returned all together with the sayd butyn, without losse of any of the Towne cattell, hauing taken Prisoner amongst those shippes, one Peter Quaegelate, an horrible Traytor to his countrey: whom they forthwith executed, and quartered, and set by his quarters vpon the citie gates: which thing the Leydens signified by their letters to his Excellency, dated the 7. of Anne

The

The Citizens dayly exercised them selues more and more to the Skirmishes, as well the youngest sorte, as also the aunty-
 entes: But amongst the rest, there was a proper young youth
 of the age of sixteene yeares, named Lyon, and in courage and
 valure a Lyon in deede: For, at the first siege of Leyden, hee
 behaued him self not as a younge youth, but like a Lyon against
 the Enemy, and that to their cost.

A young youth
 named Lyon, by
 reason of his
 valiance.

This young Lyon was afterwarde in a Skirmish: and lay-
 ing him selfe downe vpon the grasse, the Spaniards tooke him,
 and hauing cut off his nose and eares, they hoong him by by the
 toes: But being a very hable and strong man, hee layed handes
 on the haulter, and impud vpon the toppe of the Gallows, wher
 the Enemy slew him with harquebuz shot. From this Lyon, &
 such an other which was taken with him, the sayde Baldez
 wronge much matter, as touching the affayres and state of the
 Towne.

Maister Thierry of Bronchoft, his excellencies Substitute
 at Leyden, and being now made Gouvernour thereof, The Ma-
 gistrate and Nobilitie considering that the siege might last long,
 and thereby turne to a distresse of famine, during this Moneth
 of June, made all the necessariest ordinaunce that possibly they
 could, as well for the long sauing of their victualles, as also for
 the fortifying of their Rampars and Gates, the better and lon-
 ger to keepe their Towne.

And when an Inuentorie was taken of all the Corne within
 the Towne, there was found to be 4125. Bushels. Ther were
 also then in the Towne 14000 persons. Wherefore there was
 appoynted to euery one for the first two moneths, halfe a pound
 of bread, which oftentimes would scarfly suffice some cauellers
 to breakfast. And therfore the Gentle Reader may easily ghesse
 vpon what kinde of victuals they fed most. There was also an
 ordinaunce set down for pot hearbes, and no milke to be solde,
 whereon butter might be made.

Whiles the Towne of Leyden was in this sorte besieged,
 and y the Townsmen were altogether occupied about making
 of prouision of al things necessary for the defence thereof, the
 principall parte of the sayde Commaundatoys Armye arryued
 in

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in the quarters of Bommel, Gorcum, and Louuestein. Howbeit the Prince & his Estates made no great reckoning thereof. For, at Bommell, which was well prouided of all things necessary, was Captaine Baufour Colonell of the Scottishmen, with seauen Ensignes of Scottes, who dayly sallied out with some Citizens and Gentlemen Hollanders, to skirmishe brauely with the Enemie: And besides the sufficient Garryson, that was at Gorcum, and Louuestein, there was alwayes meanes to succour and deliuer the Towne of Gorcum, as afterward well appeared by the cutting and pearling of the dikes.

The Spaniard afterward determined to goe against Moer- cum, where lay in Garrison five companies of the Prince, to trouble and annoy the Spaniardes as much as was possible, that came from Antwarpe, where, by constraint and force, they made the Citizens pay them foure hundred thousande Florins, besides the common dammage which they there presentely suffered about their costs and charges.

This little village was shrewdly beaten with Artillery: but because the Prince of Orange would not cast away his men, about the defence of so ruinous a place, and standing onely vpon five families or householdes, he therfore commaunded the which were in it, to forsake it, and so they did: howbeit, they could not so well, nor so speedily embarque them selues, but that they lefte about 150 persons behind them.

When the Spaniardes the 8. of June beganne to buyld their forte, and trench themselves neere Lammén, which is about a quarter of a myle from Leyden, standing vpon a passage of waters which flowe ouer towards Delft, Zoeterwood, and Leperthorpe, the Leydens hauing intelligence thereof, and considering what mischiefe and damage might ensue to them thereby, haled out the 8. of the saide Moneth sixe smal Vessels to lette their fortifying and entrenching. But when they were come neere to Lammén, the Enemie so lustely charged them, as that notwithstanding their merueilous defence, they were inforced to retyre and returne backe to the Towne: neither could they so speedely doe it, but that they were fayne to leaue foure of the hyndermost vessels behynde them, by reason that the nose of one of them so touched vpon the shore of the Ryuer, as that

Moercomme taken by the Spaniards.

that she was not able well to turne her selfe about, and therefore they forsooke them, and saued all her people in the rest of the vessels, except foure or fīue. The 9. of the saide moneth the Leydens had giuen the Prince to vnderstande, hereof, and wrote: That if it so fell out, as that the enemy went about to trouble their cōming with their boats (which they hoped they would not) yet, that commandemēt was giuen to them of Woerden, Ould-water, and the rest, to be still molesting of Harlem Mere, & in the meane while, they for their parts wold indeed, according to their bounden duties, shew their great zeale, affection, and continuall trauell, towarde the benefiting of the common weale of theyr countrey.

And on the other side, the enemy slept not, but still went on with all the cunning and slight meanes that possibly coulde be deuised, to ouercharge and winne them: so that some of the Hispaniolized aforesaid, who lay in the campe of the enemy, thought that the first letters which were written to the Leydens for the stirring of them vp, to the wyning of them, were not sufficiently, nor effectually inough penned: or it may be, they thought that the time, by reason of the strait siege, gaue some moe fit occasions, whereby the enterprise aforesaide tooke none effecte. Wherefore, because they woulde doe their best, they wrote a gayne, the 17. of June to the Leydens, without any subscription, for that, it may be they doubted they should receiue the like answer, & was sent to Hooghstrate, the content whereof was this.

For so much as wee, and all others whatsoeuer, that consider of the Estate wherein the Towne of Leyden, and all the Inhabitauntes thereof, presently stande, adding therewith all the desolation and misery which is like to light vpon you aboue all the rest, if you doe not the sooner accept of the grace that hath beene so often tymes offered, and faithfully promised you, it greatly lamenteth, and maruellously amazeth vs, vypon what hope, and by what meanes you possibly canne longer deteine and holde your selues, and all your fellowe Citizens, your wiues and children, in suche misery and anguise of mynde, as now presently you are in, beeyng on euerie side enuironed and besieged, and bereaued of all conference amongst men,

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euill provided of victuals, and in a great deale lesse hope to re-
 ceive from abroade any helpe to relieue you in the tyme of the
 siege, whiche in truth shal not bee raysed, no, not & if it should lie
 here these two yeeres space, before such time as you haue peel-
 ded your selues, or shalbee dyynen by verie force (which **GOD**
 forbid) shortly to bee brought vnder the obedience of the king
 of Spayne your naturall liege Lorde. Wherefore we coulde
 not but of very pitie and loue, albeit to our knowledge, wee
 haue neuer a kinsman within your Towne, to exhorte you
 all, very aduisedly and considerately to determyne bypon your
 affayres, and weigh what a notable contentation of mynde it
 is, to haue such occasion to be offered, as to be absolutely recei-
 ued into grace and fauour, which is not onlie offered present-
 ly to some, but generally to all, of what estate or condition soe-
 uer they be, which grace, ere it be long, so it may fall out, (as
GOD forbidde it should) you shall neuer be able once come
 neere vnto. For if you would well and wisely consider of the
 whole matter: first, you your selues are in disgrace with the
 Prince of Orange: and next the other rebellious Townes of his
 Maiesties, seeing themselves by your meanes, bereaued of foure
 Ensignes of Englishmen, who beeing shut out of your Towne,
 rendered them selues vnto his Maiesties mercy and deuotion,
 so that you therefore are now litle to hope, for the least succour
 and ayde that may be, from those foresayd Townes. And al-
 though they haue the will and mynde to helpe you, yet you
 may easily consider of the small wayes that they haue to doe it
 withall, seeing they had (as you might if you would vnder-
 stand) great busines to doe for the men of warre which now are
 in their seruice: As at Gorcum, which presently is besieged
 with a greater Army then you are besieged withall, and against
 his Maiesties puissaunt Army whiche commeth out of Spayne.
 Againe, ouer and besides the losse of Count Lodwyke his peo-
 ple, amongst which there was no man more forwarde, yee
 were they so lustely curried neere Nimmeguen, as that in a
 short time, they lost seuentene Ensignes of the brauest Soul-
 diers in their companie: to wit, the 6. Ensignes which were dis-
 comfited at Alphen, the aforesayde foure, which peeled them
 selues in your sight, and the other seuen which the last Fridaye
 at

at Worchumforte, were miserablye cooled euen to the last man.

Moreouer, if you shal consider of the meanes which haue serued your turnes to this present, for the maintenāce of the warre, as Chalices, Pipes, and capitall Impositions, which doe nowe greatly faile you, so that you now haue not any moe such, or the like things to helpe your selues with: and againe, the daylie contributions, are for the more part taken from you, by reason that the whole Countrey is taken vp.

Quert and besides, the great power and force of his Maie-
 stie our most gracious Lord and naturall Prince, who would rather payne one of his kingdomes, were it Naples, Sicile, Sardigne, or anye other such like, then suffer him selfe to bee spoyled of these Countries, his most auncient Patrimonie and Inheritaunce. What steppes or meane canne you anye way haue, to perseuere in your great errours and anguishes, wherein you are so wrapped and swadled, with the great danger of the mischiefe whiche is like to fall on your heades. And therefore, were it not better for you, to conforme and frame your selues vnto his Maiesties will and pleasure, and in time and season, accepte this his grace, whiche as yet is generally offered vnto you all: Howe if anye of you woulde saye, that there woulde bee no promise kepte: The same is but a friuolous, and sinister Imagination of some of you, who in these troubles canne helpe your selues, by other mennes losses.

The king of
 Spaine sughe
 to payne his
 kingdomes, to
 make warre a-
 gainst vs.

For what greater assuraunce more is it possible for you to haue, then suche an assuraunce, as we haue vnderstoode from the mouth of Monsieur de Licques, hee hath so assuredlye offered you: who beeyng a Gentleman of the best and auncientest houses of these lowe Countreyes, and of great possessions, woulde not promise you, as you maye verie well thinke, anye thing whereof hee were not well assured, firmelie to bee able to persourne vnto you, seeing his credite is as great in Court as anie mans: As you may very well vnderstand by the English Souldiers, who yeelded them selues vnto him befoze your Towne: All which at his intercession, were very

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well dealt withall, and in good sort sent into England. Wherefore addeesse your selues vnto him, rather then to any other straunger,, and the sooner the better: for we are certainly aduertised, that he shall shortly depart hence, to bee imployed about greater affayres of his Maiesties. And we haue vnderstoode from his owne mouth, that he beeyng moued with pittie and loue, had thought to haue written againe vnto you, if so bee you had but briesfly answered his forn er letters.

Wherefore, if you meane to imploye him about this businesse, it standeth you in hand, without delay, to aduertise vs hereof: and when we vnderstand your mindes herein, we assure you, to send you shortly the saide Monsieur de Licques letters, with all good assuraunce and offer: and therefore looke you not for the copie of the pardon, proclaymed at Bruxelles the 6. of this moneth, for euery of you in particular, shall out of all doubt obtaine better conditions, howe haynous so euer the offence bee, if you will not stande to the aforesayd pardon, although indeede it bee verie large. And therefore eschue you the greates plague, and distresse that is neere you: and if you haue noe compassion of your selues, yet at least, haue pittie of your fellowe Citizens which are many in number. Suffer not your selues to be abused by fables and trifling toyes, neither be you carryed away with a Wanhope, as it is very apparaunt that you are, and heartened and comforted thereto by some. For as we vnderstand, there are certayne whiche daylie crie out on you at your gates & say: Where is your king: Meaning thereby the French king, who died about Whitson tide last: from whom you shal haue but smal & weake aide, seeing that in France, y troubles are now greater the in the low countries. Howbeit if the french were comming to helpe you, assure your selues that they should finde some in the way that would talke with them, as they did, who came with Count Lodwike, & Duke Christopher, the sonne of the Count Palatine, who through the helpe of GOD, were as well cooled as the Almaynes. For our king hath already about 250. ensignes of Souldiers, besides his horsemen: & where can you finde so great an armie to encounter it: Wherefore, see that you consider & deeply weigh of the matter, and send vs hercupon some answer, because we haue zealously & louingly written thus

No want of
faire promises
in the Hispanio-
lized.

thus much vnto you. And so for the present, commit you to God, beseeching him so to mollifie your hearts, & enlighten you with his grace, as that it may be for the preservation of you all. From his Maiesties campe before Leyden the 17. of June 1574. And subscribed as followeth.

By three credible and honest menne, whose
names you may not yet
knowe.

THE sayd Patenes of Wybesma, wrote also from the port of Poelle the 22. of June 1574. to the Leydens: greatly commending the pardon which was proclaimed the sixte of June at Bruxelles: whom they as yet liked, but not alwayes. For, he made no litle to doe of the force, trenches, and fortres of his campe: and he so set downe all his fortres, with the names of a dozen of them, as that he thought it impossible for the towne to be victualed. He likewise offered free passage to the most Trayterous rebels to his Maiesty, that would come out. And besides, he further offered, that if they feared to be deceiued, as the Duke of Alua deceiued them, to put him selfe, and others into the Towne for Ostages, and there remayne, vntil such time as they which went out, were not onely imbarqued at Carwye, but also vntill (some of them beeyng safely arryued) had written newes thereof, and thereupon might drawe the Articles of agreement.

When the Prince vnderstood the content of these letters, he wrote the 28. of this moneth, from Roterodam to Leyden, and amongst other things, greatly thanked them for their constancy, admonishing the not to feare those men, who shamed to subscribe their names: & besides, confuted the iangling toyes of the first letter: & told them, that the nemy had maliciously concealed & losse of their shippes, but especially, the losse of the 2000. Souldiers in North Holland.

Monsieur de Licques and his fautors, from whom it was thought the first letters came, or it may bee, that Baldez and his friends seeing that these letters, and the letters from Wibesma, tooke as litle effect as the first, sought by all meanes possible

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to ouercharge the Citizens, and recompence their vertue and constancie, with as wicked dealing as was possible for men to doe. Wherefore, they considering in what great neede their Gardenherbes stooke them, because they had plentifully sowed of them in the month of May, which was their chiefe food and reliefe, built a fort, betweene the 17. & 18. of July, neere to Rhinbrough gate at the very entrance or mouth of the riuer, to barre the Citizens, from comming out of the gate, to goe to their Kitchen gardens.

Reuerchelesse, the aforesaide M. Thierry de Bronchorst, who during the siege, had valiantly behaued himselfe vnto the death, had by the aduise of the magistrate, ordeined a certayne rewarde, for whatsoeuer Citizen, shoulde first set foote into the sayd fort. Wherefore, a great number of them salied out at the gate at once, and so lustely charged the enemy, as that they were enforced with great losse, and shame inough, to forsake the place, the 18. of July.

When the great commandator & his adherents saw, þ a great number of their enterprises tooke no effect, & that the Townes in Holland and zelande and els where, were so well prouided for, as that they could doe little or nothing that Summer, they put their whole confidence in the great armie at sea, which came out of Spayne, the same whereof more and more so spread abroad, as that it might indeede haue so fallen out, had not the Lorde God by his secret iudgements as wel by the pestilence, as other wise, prouided well for the matter.

But to the end some diligence in the performing hereof might appeare, as wel at Rome by the Pope & his Cardinals, as also in Spayne by the fathers of the holy Inquisition, by their actes & prowesses, and that the aforesayde holy fathers might see, wheruppon they money was bestowed, Chiapin Vitelli, about this time, had with fiftene Ensignes of Swysles, and other ensignes of Spaniardes, besides twelue peeces of great ordinaunce, besieged Lerdam, a little Towne belonging to the Count of Bure: which was continually battered from 2. of the clocke in the morning, vntill one of the clocke in the after noone, especially the Castle Flanker, whiche was vicerly beaten to the grounde. And about noone they came to a parle, wherein they demaun-

ded

Lerdam besieged & rendered.

sed the Towne, bodiees and goodes referued. And that the 2. companies of the Princes people which laye there in Garny- son, shoulde depart thence with their armonr and weapon, whi- che in the end was agreed vpon, and performed in the beginning of July.

The 10. of July, the Leydens coynd certaine peeces of silver of 28. & 14. souls a peece. And on y^e one side was stāped, as it is printed in y^e paper coyne, which was coynd at the first coyning. *Hac libertatis ergo*, & on the other side, *Godt behoedt Leyden, Nūmus obfess. vrbis Lugdunensis, sub gubernatione Illustris simi Principis Auriaci cūsus.* And vpon the little penny: *Lugdunum Batavorum.*

The 29. of the said moneth Proclamatiō was made, y^e no beare should be made aboue 24. souls the barrell. In this meane while was Leyden very straightly besieged, but especially about Hape gate, where one captaine Carion a Spaniard, had entrēched him selfe at y^e Waddinghe, & made many loope holes to shoot through in the dikes, & his first trēch ran alongest hard to Boshuysē: whi- che greatly anoied the towne. Wherefore the Citizens, because they had no souldiers, concluded to salie out in this manner.

First, Gerard Lane, went out in a Gally well purueied of ar- tillary, and the greater part of his Citizens, were Musketters. Maister Iohn Duuenword, captaine of y^e Adventurers or Free- butters, issued out by the Fleet, the one halfe of his people being appoynted with long staues, called Spittes, and the other halfe, shot. And Adrian Scot went out at the Rinbrough gate. The two Companies of Maister Iohn Does Lorde of North- wike, with Bartholomew Hauies, tooke in hand to set vpon the Fort and trench, at Boshouse brydge. At the place called the Sand, were placed a good manie of Pyoners. Now when all thinges were thus prepared and set in order, and a rewarde set downe for the first that entred y^e fort, & for euery Spaniards head, so soone as the fire was lighted, they all at once with a great noyle and crie on euery side, set vpon the Fort, especially the Companies of the Lorde of Northwike and of Bartholo- mew hauies. The 60. Spaniards which were in the fort, val- auncly defended them seues with their muskettes, but y^e townes men were gotten so neere the Fort, as that they pushed at them

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The Citizens
of Leyden, sur-
passe the Spa-
niards fort.

in the fort, with their foresayd long stauces, & so soone as they had discharged theyr Harquebuzes, they fel vpon y^e enimie. In y^e meane while, the citizens approched with their fire works: to wit, with vials of glasse full of gunpowder & hymestone, hauing lighted matches hanging without them: and cast those vials into y^e fort of the enemy: wherupon the Spaniards were enforced to forsake their trench or fort where the citizens entred, & there slew their enemies, who in y^e destroying of the fort, were rosted there alieue, and buried by the Citizens, without hauing mercy vppon anye, although they very lamentably cryed vpon them: *Miser cordia, Miser cordia.* And the Pioners aforesayd, were so busie against the enemy, at a trench neere Poeley bridge, as that they came not time enough to lay flat the forte, and therefore the Citizens themselues did it.

During these exploitcs, by reason of the signe of the fire aforesayde, Alarme was sounded through all Baldez his Campe: insomuch that they of Lammen, came to helpe thē of Madding: & so did likewise the horsemen of Leyerthorpe, Forscote, & Wasfenar: who with a few of those which scaped, gaue three assaults vpon the lost forte, but they were with shame and losse inough, lustely repulsd. Now because the Citizens meant not to keepe the saide fort, but raze it, if it were possible, and to shewe, that although there were no souldiers in the Towne, yet that necessity & daylie experience made a souldier, being also of necessity driuen to retyre, by reason of the force of the enemy which came vppon them, they, after this braue skymish of two houres, rettyred themselves towards the towne. Thus the 29. of Iuly they made ready hande, & speedy dispatch of an hundred Spaniards & Italians, or neere thereabout.

The Leydeners are
ouer forward in
skirmishing.

It were ouer long to write of the continuall skymishing that was there, both on the 14. & 15. of Iuly, by reasoⁿ of the multitude of the kine that went thereabout, beyng very neere to the number of 700. For the Citizens were growen now so warrelike, and forward in skirmishing; as that the Magistrate was enforced to call them from it with the sound of a bell. And here is to be vnderstood, that none of Baldez campe euer tooke the value of one Cowe, but that it cost the liues of some of his souldiers; & specially befoze y^e trench without y^e wood gate, because they wēt
ouer

mer plachers, where they were cut off from the way: so y^e the 8. of August, there were in y^e place 8. spaniards slaine, & 3. taken prisoners: & there was not taken from them during the whole siege, but 1. cow, & 3. young calves. And it was a marvellous thing to see, how this kynd of cattel had the wyte to saue themselves vnder the Towne in the time of necessitie, for by vse, they had learned to know the shooting, both of the Harquebouze, and also of the great ordinaunce.

During these Exploites, Baldez people which lay at Haye and therabout, attēpted the Towne of Delft, which they thought to obtaine by reason of certaine intelligence & conference y^e they had with some of y^e town: but they were therein deceiued, because y^e these inhabitants faithfullly dealt in y^e matter, in aduertising y^e magistrate therof. So y^e a bāket of gūpouder was prepared for y^e spaniard: for if they had once entred the gate, they had euer after beene excused for the eating of victualles. But as the keyes of the gate, were not so ready at hand as they ought to haue byn, & besides, the draw bridge was so long, before it could be let downe, which might be, by reasoⁿ of the feare y^e tooke some of them who had commission to do it, as y^e the spaniards wēt backe, being terrified by the great ordinaunce of the Towne, but it came too late, for there was no hurt at al done.

An attempt
gainst Delft.

Neuerthelesse, notwithstanding al these enterprises & attēpts, and besides the great distresse of the Leydens, yet was it not long before, but that there began a treatye of peace: and for the same intent and purpose, were first sent to Vrright (although vnder another colour) Maister Iohn Matenes, Lord of the riuer, and the Aduocate or Counseller at the lawe, Trelon: And after that, Maister Philip of Marniss, Seignior de Saint Aldegond, who came out of prison, by the consent of Maister Champigni. But because this matter is already set downe in print, I wil send the gentle Reader thereto, if he meane to vnderstand any further thereof.

After a fewē dayes had been spent in this warhope of peace, & that the Deputies both of Holland and Zelande, with Seignior Saint Aldegond, who according to his othe became Prisoner againe, had exhibited their request vnto his Maiestie in waye of a Supplication, contēpning these two poyntes: That if

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the lowe Countries might be rydde of the straungers which were in them, then the Estates of Holland and Zeland, and their adherents, would submit themselves to the general estates: & besides, seeing that the other deputies were gone back to Vtrecht, that the siege of Leyden continued, & their victuals went very low: therfore, his excellency, & the estates discretely & wisely weighed & considered, which way Leyden might be most commodiously holpē. Neuertheles whē they saw, y^t there could come no ayde by lād, but wth great hazard, by reasoⁿ of y^e strait besieging, & strength of so many trēches o^r bulwarks, & the multitude of the enemies, without the hazarding of a great number of people, & forsomuch as the greatest part of al the chāpion countries was destroyed, & the enemies of the Hollanders to possesse y^e couⁿtries least annoyed: And besides, y^t a great deale of corne & hay, by reason of the edict published in Iuly, was had into the townes of the Princes part, his excellency & y^e estates fully & wholly agreed not so much to esteem what might become of y^e rawnesse of the low cōuntry, & lay it wast, for the deliuering of those that lay oppressed in Leyden, & to declare vnto the enemy what power and will they had, to wit, that they had rather ouerwhelm the whole cōuntry with water, and beare the losse (as it is thought) of 300000. crownes of the sonne, then suffer their fellow brethren & members of one publike weale, to be trode vnder foote, and deppriued of the libertie of their cōuntry. And therfore I say, it was concluded vpon, and declared by a common accord: That better is a waste, then an utterly lost cōuntry: and so agreed, that the schuses should be taken vp, that all South Holland, if it were possibly, might bee laide vnder the water, both by the laying open of these schuses, as also by the cutting of the Dykes which stand, eyther vpon the Maze o^r vpon Ysle: procuring by this meane a Sea, to ebbe and flowe vppon the firme lande, that they might, after the water was become once nauigable, sayle to Leyden, for the victualing and ayding thereof. And to bring this matter to passe, were deputed, M. William de Palestine, and Daniel de Wingard: who hauing ful commission for the executing hereof, departed forth with from Rotterodam with a great number of Pyoners.

The 3. and 4. of August, his excellencie and M. Paule Bushe, an aduocate of the cōuntry of Holland, accompanied with cer.
cayue

The prince and the states, conclude to ouerflowe & drown the whole cōuntry with water

sayne of the estates, went vpon the chappel dyke of Ysle, where
on stood a fort very wel furnished with souldiers, cutting downe
of the bank in about 16. places, so that the foremost gate was an-
swerable vnto IJilmond. And betweene Roterodam and Delf-
shauen, was likewise a great deepe gate cut, throught which ran
wonderful aboundance of water. The schuses at Roterodam,
Schedam, the 5. schuses &c. were altogether pulled vp, so that
Roterodam schuse yeelded maruellous store of water.

When these dyke banks were cut downe, & the schuse laid wyde
open, his excellency sent into Zeland, for Admirall Lewis Boyl-
and after he had deliberated and consulted with the estates and
thoroughly considered of all the meanes that might be, as in what
maner, with what number of people, & with what ships &artil-
lary, Leyden might be soonest ayded, and rydde of the enemy, he
departed towards Zeland for the doing hereof. And in the meane
while there were certain flat bottommed vessels, & many gallies
also, made ready for that seruice.

Admirall Boyl-
for is sent to
take vp men for
the ayding of
Leyden.

During these exploytes, Baldez, hauing encompassed Leyde
with his souldiers, gaue not ouer the practising of his subtil and
threatning exhortations, as wel by words, as also by this Letter
written the 30. of Iuly from Hape, the bryefe content whereof
hereafter ensueth.

That the Leydens should beware, not to suffer themselves to
be villainously abused by friuolous and vayne wordes. And that
they had also caused it to be published abroad amongst their ci-
tizens, how his Ma. sought a kind of iniurious seuerity, & desire
of reuenge against them, where contrariwise, hee shewed all the
grace and mercy that was possible, as appeared by those of Ley-
de, & 100. persons more at Vright, & els where, & that this mercy
gate stood, as yet wide open for them, if they would hartily call
for the same. But if they would still perseuere in their obstina-
cy that then they were to looke for, a disgrace, punishment & cru-
elty to be perfectly laid vpon the. Insomuch that the conclusi-
on of this letter, was as it were much like vnto Rabsakeis when he came
before the city of Ierusalem. Harken, saith he, what the great king of
Assyria saith, to wit, the great commandator, Take heede you be
not abused and seduced by Hezekia, to wit, by your Prince of Da-
rage, leane not vnto a weak & shaking reed, which is not able to
stay & deliuer you, neuer regard any thing he biddeth you doe.

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for the Lord will send you a meane for your deliuerance, neither shall your Towne of Leyden fall into the handes of the great Commaundatoz. Giue no eare to the Prince, but beleue me, that his maiesties intent and purpose is, not to depart from before the Towne, vntill such time as he hath brought it vnder his obedience: and besides let Delft also know, and all the reste of the other Townes, & they shalbe besieged, which, the Delftians if they be not wilfully blind may welinough perceiue. And therefore, see you trust not to the prince of Oreng his ayde, for if you do, you shal but abuse your selues wth a vaine hope. But shew you me thus much fauour, as to render your selues into my handes, be you the first, and you shall be sure to obtaine grace & mercy.

The Leydens made no answer to this letter, neyther were they any whit the more afeard or discouraged: But according to the example of the Bethulians, and Iohel his doctrine, they fell to prayer and fasting, being expressly commaunded by the Magistrate, not once to thinke that they deserued any thing by reason of this fast. And besides, they ordeyned certeine lawes and ordinaunces, and the 2. of August they were commaunded to take vp all their hoxses out of the meadowes, and stable them in the Towne, to the ende their milch kine might feede the longer a broode: and at that time they began to kill the kine that were dyed vp: And the fift day, they made ordinaunces concerning their flesh victual, and Graynes, which they then began to bake, which kind of soode, although they esteemed not of it so well as of bread, yet cost it more then the rye bread, for a pound of it, coste 13. Holland pence, and euery man was allowed halfe a pounde ther of a day.

The Leydens
write a letter to
his Excellency.

The Leydens standing in this estate, wrote to his excellency the 21 of August, as foloweth. That his excellency right wel vnderstood by their last Letter in what state they stood, that they graines would serue them but foure dayes longer, whereupon it appeared, & they had made a very good reckoning for 3. mōths, to wit, to liue & first 2. month with bread, & the thir d in misery & pouerty. And that & greater sort of & cōmō people drōk water, by reason that & grains was baked into bread. And besides that they greatly maruelled that they neuer receiued Letters from the
Estates,

estates their confederates, and therfore supposed, that they had cleane forgotten them, seeing they knew, how greatly their letters would increase the weake courages of their citizens, beseeching God in the end of these letters, to giue them an inuincible patience, and to his excellency, wisdom, and courage, for their ayde and deliuerance.

But befoze these letters were dispatched, the Leydens had received letters from his excellency, by which he aduertised the of all that heretofore hath bin said, and how hie the water was already risen, wherat they greatly reioysing, highly thanked his Excellency: signifying to him further, which of them in their opinions was first to be cut & let out, sending these two letters the 22. of this moneth. Now, the cutting of these dykes seemed not only strange to some, but the deuise also was scorned, & not only by the Princes enemies, who in diuerse places, diuersly in a mockerie, cryed out of it befoze the Towne: But also some of the chiefe of those which had agreed therto, because they thought it an impossible thing to bring to passe: & besides, some of the Leiden thought that the water would be close pent by against the dykes, or at least be forcibly kept backe. And some, who vntill then had dissimuled the matter, saide in a mockery: now on afoze my Gueses, get you by into the top of the tower, & with your lookes goe befoze the water of the Haze, with many other reprochfull words not worthy here to be set down: insomuch that many cowardly mates, became not only faint hearted, but also by little began to breede dissention.

The Magistrate, and the rest that were in authority, seeking to prevent this inconuenience, they therfore, to the end to encrease the courage of their citizens, & especially with all possible diligence to further their aide and deliuerance, sent the 27. of August, 3. of their citizens with 2. letters: The one written to his Excellencie, and the other to the states of Holland their confederates. The contents of which concerned chiefly the states, whom they, but in very deed causeles, charged with negligence, forsomuch as they had not, befoze the siege written vnto them one word, & that they lay as still, as if there had bin no confederacy between the, with many other thinges moe. Further declaring, that they had most miserably abidden distressed, the whole tyme by his Excellency

*Diuerse speeches
vled vpon the
cutting of the
dykes.*

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cellencie prefixed : and that they sawe as yet none other thinge but vaine hope : And therefore protested before the moste mightie G D D, and the whole worlde, that they hadde done their dueties, and no faulte to bee founde on their behalfe, but in the Estates : who might see, when conueniente time shoulde serue, that they were able to excuse them selues thereof : And therefore required, that in case they were no waye able to helpe them, or that there was no hope in the meanes alreadye begunne, to sende them flatte woozde thereof, that they might bee discharged of their othe and confederacie.

The Prince of Orange at that time was visited with a maruellous daungerous disease: which was not the least threate of the Lord vnto his people, who were very heauy and sorrowfull for the same, and therefore he could by no meanes aunswere these letters. In the meane while, the Leydens put in execution the ordinaunce which fortie of them had agreed vpon, and made an Inuentorie of all the Kyne, Beefes, Sheepe, Calues and hogges, and all the streetes & houses were bylled, wherein were any. There were also deputed Cornelius Nicholas of Aix, and Iohn Lucas of Wassena Commissaries, as well for this matter, as also for all other kinde of fleshe, Larde, and whatsoeuer els, who, according to reason and equitie were to looke to this geare, to the ende that no man so long as it was possible to helpe it, shoulde perishe through famine. And if any man was founde to conceale any cattell or victualles, the same to bee taken from him, and him selfe to bee punished. All kinde of Cattell was taxed, and the magistrate gaue to the Owner, according to the value of the taxing. And from thence forth a Lot was cast from foure dayes to foure dayes, to kill as much cattell, as necessarilie might serue for those aforesaide dayes, to witte to euery Howle, halfe a pounce of fleshe the day.

Whiles the Leydens were in this estate, the water had by little and little ouerflowed al the whole Countrey ouer, and all preparation possible, was made for the helpe and deliuerie of the Towne : and at Roterodam, arriued the Admirals of Flushing and Siericksea: to wit, Lewis of Boysot Lord of Ruart, & Adrian

The Leydens
make an Inuen-
tory of all the
cattel and victu-
als they haue.

Adrian Williams: with seuen Shippes called Cromstevens, well appointed both with men and great Ordnance, and 800. mariners. And besides, they brought with them certaine other shippes, which carried lesse Artillery, to vse in the flat bot-tomed boates, to wit, aboue an hundred of brasse & yron cast pee-ces, and a great number of double and single bales, & other small peeces, which immediatly were at Roterodam, with about 200. The order of the preparation and furniture of the vessels of warre. Every vessel had in her nose 1. peece, & some 2. peeces of brasse, and 6. bales on a side. They had also within board, halfe pikes & masses, and some of them had 10. twelue, fourteene, sixteene, & eighteene Dyes a peece.

The arriuall of these Zelanders, greatly feared the enemye, for they are a very valiant people by water, as their notable deeds of armes sufficiently testifie. And although many of them are very sauage, yet behaued they themselves good Captaines most vertuously, and shewed they great valiancy by reason they had imprinted in their mindes 2. thinges, to wit, the libertie of their Countrey, & tyranny of the Spaniards, and Inquisition. Wherefore some of them bare about them in a silver crescent these wordes, Rather the Turke then a Papist: For they thought the tyrannie of the Pope & the Spaniards to be farre greater then the Turkes, who suffered the people, paying their tribute, to liue with the libertie of conscience, and would as well or a great deale better, keepe his promises then the Pope. They were besides, so much the more afeard, because they receiued no mā to mercy, how honourable or noble soeuer he was: insomuch y they durst in expresse words say, that if they found aborde, either the great commander, pope, Emperoz, or the king himselfe, coming against the as enemies, to tyrannize them, & to take from them their liues, and libertie of their countrey, or bring them vnder y popes subiection, they wold no more spare the, then they wold y basest Spaniard. I speake not this by the Captaines, but by the sauagest and most obstinate, the more liuely to paint them out in their colours, to the end that euery man which seeth them might iudge, what manner of people they were.

When al the meadowes about Roterodam and Gaude, were in y The meadowes about Roterodame, are made navigable. end of August, couered ouer with water, so that a flat bottommed vessel

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bessel laden with hay might passe on it, and arriue at Roterodam befoze Ysselmond gate : and that notwithstanding the water staid against the foresaide bankes or dykes, so that it could haue no course towarde Leyden : the Aduenturers of Gaude, and certayne Pioners with them, went out at the appointment of their Gouvernoꝝ, M. Wyngard, and of M. Gerard Wyngard, one of his Excellencies Counsel there assigned, and cut downe the 3. of September, Hildam banke or dike . Howbeit, it auayled them smally, because the Spaniards had stopped by the day following, with hay and wood, the selfe same seuen gates that they had made.

Now Baldez and his adherents, who lay befoze Leyde, did nothing els all this while, but warre vpon them with the penne, seeking a freshe to conquere the Leydens with pleasaunt and threathning letters, but especially by Matenes of Wibisma his letter, written the 3. of September, from his forte at Poele, and by two letters written in Spanish, and subscribed by Baldez himselfe.

The summe of Wibisma his letter aforesayd was this : That about two monethes passed, he had written them letters, which concerned both their profit and welfare, and yet receiued no answer from them. But because that he & his adherents were aduertised y^e they had no more corne left in the towne, & that y^e people liued & fed vpon rootes, graines, & other kind of suche like soole, which caused great mortality amongst them : & wold moze & moze cause it, if they looked not better to it : & besides, y^e theyꝝ state & condition would stil grow from ill to worse, considering it was impossible foꝝ them to be holpen : & that the water whiche came in vpon them, did them moze hurt then good, foꝝsomuch as that the countrey vpon the Rhyn, was higher then the countrey of Scye, or Delft, so that it could not possibly be brought to passe to make the water ouerflow it.

And besides, y^e the princes succours which were betweene 30. & 40. ensignes, could by no means help, because the passages were so guarded, as that it was impossible foꝝ the to come to Leyden. Furthermore, that there arriued at Leyerthorpe 600. olde trayned Souldiers all shot, so that there were in that place thre thousand olde Spanish souldiers, besides 27. Companies of Almaines

Almaines, and 18. ensignes of Malonnes, and all the horsemen, & as many els as coulde be gotten to send thither. And yet notwithstanding all this that hath beene saide, his Maiesty was contented graciously to receiue the Towne without exception: and suffer them to enioy their auncient priuiledges, & neuer charge them with any Garnison. And that if there were any within the Towne who mistrusted the matter, that safe conduct shold be giuen them, to goe whither soeuer they thought best themselves. And that if anie of them would haue y Articles subscribed by y great Commaundoꝝ, that he himselfe would bring them vnto them. And further, that if they would come to a parle with him, that they shoulde obtayne more, then they were ware of. Whereupon, there were many which offered to make their peace and attonement.

Moreouer, that they should not giue too too much credite, nor trust impossible things, to the end they procured not the destruction both of them selues, and also of their wiues and children. Lastly, hee desired to bee answered vnto that which hath been said.

Baldez his first letter written the fourth of September from Leyerthorp, began with a very louing spanish salutation, in manner and forme as followeth: *Ye obstinate Leydens both against God, & your king and Lord: containing summarily, these points & articles, and manie other things mo: That the grace which the king offered by him, to those which were obstinat and rebellious both against God and their king, was yet readie for them, so as they would conuerte & confesse their faulte. He promisseth pardon to al, aswel to the Deputy Bronchorst, the Lorde of Northwike, & Peter Adriansō, as to al the rest. He giueth them time to answer, & leysure to send their deputies with procuration, vntil y mūdāy ensuing, sending the to y end, a passport written in spanish.*

The seconde Letter written in Spanishe, dated the sixte of September beeganne thus: *By Lords the Burroughmaisters, I haue receiued your Letters, &c. And required as aboue sayde, the Deputies with procuration, to treat with them. These were subscribed.*

Frā de Valdes.

Don Ferdinando de Lannoy, Count dela Roche, who at

D

that

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The Count de
la Roche his
letters to the
Leydens.

that time was layd to be captayne generall of Holland, Zealand, Frizeland, and Vtricht: sent the 6. of September by his trumpet, letters to the Leydens witten from Vtricht, as it were to the same effect: offering to come himselve to Leyden, to set forward the matter with all equitie, to the end the y might be preserved from the imminent danger and horzour: Protesting before God and the worlde, that they might impute the whole faulte of their vtter destruction, to their wicked and obstinate oppynion. Wherefore he had sent them these letters for a latter farewell, and not to looke for any further matter from him, wishing them in the end a true vnderstanding and good will, to accept of their welfare.

The said Trumpet had another letter of the same date, writen from Vtricht by ten fugitiue Citizens of Leyden: which conteyned, that they had with great prayer and intreatie obteyned the same letters from the Count de la Roche, That the Leydens as yet presently might bee receiued to grace, if it pleased them: but if so bee they refused it, that they protested to aduertise theyr countrie of the great and horrible dangers which myghte light vpon their heads, as well in bodie as goods. Lastly, wishing them to vnderstande, that they might bee brought from a miserable estate vnto libertie. These present letters were subscribed, by Cornelius de la Hoogh, the sonne of Nicholas, Gerard Roelofs, Nicholas Dom, the sonne of John Buytewech, Bartholomew Alewyns, Geerbrand Dees, John Adrianson de Wylde, Rene, the sonne of James, and J. Chierry. The Leydens the sixt of the sayd moneth answered these letters: That they had sworn to the prince of Oreng, as liuetenant & Captaine general for his maiestie in Holland, & likewise to the Estates of the said countrey. And vntill such time as they were discharged of that oath, they hoped to keepe it.

And secondly, they demaunded passeport, before they came to a parle, to the end they might send some of their Citizens to his Excellency and the Estates, promising that they should retorne within eight dayes.

The Leydens desired this passeport vnder this coulour, that they might more safely send their messengers about their other affaires: And this was a stratageme or warlike pollicy against their ene-

Enemies from whome they craued this, to keepe them in that opinion: for they right well knew, that an Hare could not well get out of Leyden, though their Campe, because it was so staighly besieged, and therfore much lesse could their Messengers goe towarde his Excellency without their leaue: although they knewe contrariwise, three other wayes: yea, for the verie same night, that the Enemies thought them selues most safe, they went out, and passed where a man would haue thought it moste impossible. And besides, they knew wel inough the popish faith, and Spanish promises, and also after what manner the Commandator had handled the Granadoes.

The fugitiues of Leyden, which were at Leperthorpe, had already made their reckoning, that they should home to their houses, for so they verely thought, when as they sayd vnto the Messengers: what excuse are you able to make for your selues? In deede the Parlemians might haue some excuse, to saye that the souldiers enforced them to hould out so long: But you haue no souldiers, and therfore are no way excusable, nor no grace to be left for you: for they neuer thought, that the Leidens meaning was to make the names of their fellowe Citizens, euen by their owne testimonies, immortall, and them selues receyue euerlasting shame. For once it was well knowne, that in the first place, Leyden was enforced to paye all the men of warre within the Campe. And some of the fugitiues haue sithence the deliuerance, exprestely confessed euen in the Towne of Amsterdam: That notwithstanding all the fayre promises of the Spaniards, there was a deuice, if they had entred the towne, to haue murdered all the defensible personnes, yea, all the married women.

And it may be, that the young damfels might haue found fauour, because the Spaniards would haue abused them, for the seruing of their filthy lusts and pleasures.

This wytyng from so manye and sundry places, beeganne to breede some Ielousie: For, euery man sought most carefully to gette all the commendation that was possyble to bee had at the Commandators handes, for the yeelding vp of Leyden, which in part appeared, by Iohn de Huiter his Letters, dated the nyenty of September, from Leperthorpe, to the Lorde

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of Northwyke when as he sayd: When that your Drumb was come to the Campe, I my selfe was there present, but so farre forth as I am able to iudge, the Generall of the Campe is angry with the Colonnell and Captaine, because they suffered the Trumpet passe with certeine Letters. Wherefore, I woulde aduise you, as a friend, That if you intend to treat of the matter, to doe it with Baldez, whom you know to be mercifull, to the end that all thinges might passe through his handes, as Generall of the Campe. For if you doe not so, he will take it in euill part, and therby doe you no good.

And I, as a friend to the Towne, wherein I continued five yeares in the flower of mine age, coulde not but aduertise you hereof.

These foresayde Letters, were not altogether vnprofitable or fruitelesse in the hearts of some vnconstant men: and as if the Towne of Leyden had not beene already sufficiently ouercharged with thre plague and scourges, which commonly goe hande in hande together, to wit, plague, pestilence, and famine, the fourth paine is ioyned hereunto: For many Citizens, who had hitherto dissimuled the matter, said, that they had redeemed their tooing of a Lombard: because that the Commissary Bronchoyst aforesayd, died the 6. of September, who, if he had liued, would haue coupled such braue prattlers to the Gallows, by reason that he was a good and seuerer Justicer in the Towne, so that whyles hee lyued, both Papiste and Guese feared him. Howebeit, of this inconstancie, which was also amongst some of the Lordes of the Towne, we will hereafter speake moze at large.

Nowe, when the Admiralles aforesayde, through the diligence of the Hollanders, the chiefe of which being Maister Cornelius of Bronchoyst, Maister Henrype Duyt, and M. Lenyn, were according to the necessitie, reasonably well furnished and appoynted, & the 5. of September, certeine barques had discovered, that the Lymittes and diuisions of the fieldes, were not passing a foote and a halfe aboue the water, his Excellenry appoynted that the Dikes betweene Soetermeir, and Wilheluene should be opened, that they might come downe from thence, vnto Soetermen Mere, which is about a quarter of

of a myle, from the diuisions of the fieldes aforesaide: so that the Admiralles before named departed the 11. of the sayd Month, with many other Captaynes of Holland, and Deputies of the Estates and Admiralltie, alongst by the Rott, hauing 30. Gallies, and certeine other which came from Delft and Gaude, and the victuallers, two Ensignes of Wyponers, and other necessarye thinges, sayling towards the diuisions of the fieldes aforesayde. And besides, his Excellencie had appoynted certeine Ensignes of souldiers, to wit, Frenchmen, the Captaine of the Guarde, Durant, and Catteuille, for the defending of the Trenches in the place aforesaid, on both sides, an houre before day, and if it were possible, before the enemy should perceiue them, which with inuicible diligence they perfourmed: and the two Admiralls placed their shippes on eyther side, to defende the trench with their Artillery. Halfe an houre before the trench was finished, the Spaniards came from Soetermeir, towards the place aforesaid, to skirmish, appoynting on the hye fieldes side, to witte, the common fielde, about fise braue companies of Almaines. The French which were of y Regiment of y Colontel of the guard, and other of his Excellencies Guarde, which were come thither of pleasure: notwithstanding that the Admirall Boyssot, had prayed and commaunded them, not to come neere the Enemy within the Cannon shotte, yet ranne they so fiercely out of their Trenches, as that the Admirall with his shippes, coulde not play with the Artillery as they would: howbeit the artillery only of 6. Gallies, gaue them the whole side so lustely, as y they durst not only march forwarde, but were also twise enforced with losse and shame enough, to returne to Soetermeir, and there were no moe wounded, but the Admiralles pylot onely, & that was with a harquebuz shot, & a few of his mariners lightly hurt.

Now on the other side, to wit, from Wypluene or Letherdam quarter, in the euening came the Spaniards both on foote & on horseback, where was a braue skirmish. And by reason of the small shotte, and the great Ordnance, which on the side lustely disploed them from the Gallies, they were constrained of verie shame to retyre: so that the Gallies which pursued with strength of oyes slew some of their horses and also the ryders. But herein fell out a very cruell deede, committed by a

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zelanders, who haue a wonderful desire to be flesh of the Spaniards, and the Spaniards likewise of them. For the Zelanders had learned it of the Spaniards former deedes, who had learned of the Moors & Turks (althogh in very deed it is no whit commendable in a Christian) and the matter was thus. A Zelanders had taken one of the flaine Spaniards, and pluckt the heart out of his body, as hee lay halfe dead, and when hee had gnawne it with his teeth, hee cast it awaye from him.

The mariners
flesht vpon a
Spaniard.

This gnawne heart was afterwarde seene at Delft by manye credible people, and the very pynte of the teeth in it. There were also after that, as it should seeme, certaine latin verses set forth by the Lorde of Northwike vppon the same deed: as followeth.

Lugdunum tingit Batauorum miles Iberus,
A Batauo contra, cingitur ille mari.
Non opus est gladiis, ferroque rigentibus armis,
Solo pro Batauo belligerentur aquæ,
Iacturam pecoris Batauus quam fecit & agri,
Humano decies sanguine Ibere lues,
Mercator sapiens tamen haud mercabitur vna
Hispani generis corpora mille boui.
Macra caro est, nuper cum cor gustasset Iberi
Respuit, & canibus nauta vorare dedit,
Deseruere agros Bataui, & Nafsouius heros
Nullus enim fixos abstulit hostis agros,
Inuenit ratio sine sanguine pellere longè
Hostilisque manus, Hisperiumque iugum.
Tolle motus, Hispane fuge, & ne respice terras
Pro quibus Oceanus, pugnat & ipse Deus.

Which verses may be thus englished.
With heart most mercilesse the vile proud Spaniard
hath Leyden round about beset, to spoyle it with his Guard:
But Holland sea hath giuen the Spaniard such a blow,
as that with armes & drums also, he may go shoote the crowe.
His water force that fighthes, genitt you the battell strong (long
dispatch therfore, and packe you hence, least wayling be your
For

For, for losse of one beast, and spoyle of Holland field
 The Spaniards blood shall it repay, and ten for one it yeeld,
 For, the wise merchaunt doth, of one ore more esteeme
 then of a thousand carrions leane, of Spanish breede I weene.
 For, when a pooze Mariner, of heart had taste the iuyce
 he cast it downe vnto the dogges, it was too vile to vse.
 The Dzeng Prince, and eke the Hollanders, I say
 forsooke the fieldes, and yet of them, was no whit take away.
 For, he found out the meane, without any blood shed
 the enemy to driue far off, and put Spaine poke to bedde.
 And therfore get thee hence, thou Spaniarde proud & vile,
 for Ocean sea, and God him selfe, doe fight for vs the while.

Nowe, as the Leydens, had written & aduertised his Excel-
 lency by letters of the 4. of this month, which they sent by certein
 Citizens, to witt John Freque, Lubert Chaudronnier or Bras-
 sier, Georg Scot, Rightuigall and others, who traueiled sun-
 dry wayes, the pooze Estate of their Citiz ens beeing through
 famyne, ouerwatching, and warding greatly weakened, requi-
 red and prayde, their speedy ayde and deliuerance, because they
 feared that the fiede bankes and ditches were not as yet gaw-
 ged and cut, by reason they saw not the water come downe.
 Whereupon, his Excellency, and the generall Estates of Hol-
 land wrote briesly backe vnto them the 12. of the sayd moneth of
 September, as followeth.

That all men right well knew, how carefull, and at what
 great charges they had beene, and were at, for their ayde and
 deliuerance, and therfore doubted not, but that the Leydens, for
 their part, would shew them selues most constant, and like faith-
 full Confederates, stand manfully for the maintenaunce of their
 iust and honest cause, and reiect al craftye practises and sugred
 promises, by which the Enemy hoped to winne, and poke them.
 And that they shoulde also haue great regard, howe they
 lost the commendation, which they had already vniuersally got-
 ten. Signifying vnto them further, that the messengers whom
 they sent, had seene with their owne eyes the gawging and cut-
 ting downe of the fiede bankes or ditches the day before, as by
 their own report by word of mouth, they might more at larg vnder-
 stand. They set also a copy of those letters, which they had sent

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the 4. and 7. of this month, letting them thereby vnderstand their great care ouer them, and the de uice and counsell they gaue the, together, the promises of their priuiledges and franchises in time to come. And vnderneath was subscribed, your good confederates, The knightes Nobles, and Townes of Holland, representing the Estates of the said Countrie, together the counsell of those, which were then present with his Excellencie, and subscribed by

Ottes of Egmond, Adryan Myle, William Iohnson of Henskerke, Cornelius Bouchorst, William Loo, Cornelius Gautier: And a little beneath subsigned by y Secretary C. de Rechtere.

The Leydens answered these Letters the 16. of the same month. Thanking and prayling God with ioyfull heartes, and al the Estates, for that foresaid gauging. Shewing them besides, their great necessitie and misery, requiring, that the enterprise begunne for their deliuerance, might be hastened.

The same day there were letters likewise dispatched, and written in Cifers to the Admirall Boisot, declaring vnto him their extreamedistresse, and praying him to haste with all the possible speede that might be, desiring with all, to vnderstande, in what sorte they should deale, wherein they trusted, should neither be seene, nor found in them, any negligence, or want of good will. But now, to leaue our wandring discourse, we will again return to our other matters: There were some, who thought the selues very well seene about these field bankes, had perswaded his Excellencie, that his people which were passed the sayde lymittes, might without annoyance, come downe into the aforesaide Soetermeir Deere: notwithstanding y experience, shewed the clean contrary. For first there was a greene way, which lay a foote hyer then the water: and the same likewise was to be gotten, and trenched, before the Enemy vnderstood it, which was perfourmed without the losse of any man, and yet the enemy lay within a musket shot therof: Secondly, they thought they might haue passed fro thence into Soetermeir, by resse of sundry ditches, wherout curues had bin digged, howbeit but one of the went so farre, and the same also driuen to goe vnder Soetermeir bridge, which

which standeth full in way, where the Spaniards on either side lay, to wit, euen at the houses harde vpon the bridge, and the bridge also was fortified with thyrty ensignes of souldiers, who lay in all the houses alongest the way. Inſomuch that none could paſſe by them, but that they would haue diſplaced the with their great ordnance.

His excellencie lying at Delft, and hearing hereof, ſent forth with by the maſter of the ordnance, foure demie Canons, placed and planted in ſit veſſels for the purpoſe, and withall the broken yſe of Delft. Theſe veſſels being of a mightie thickneſſe, were trimmed before with very great planks, & betweene the planks were maſſie nettes rammed in for the ſauing of the Canonier. Theſe veſſels being arriued at the campe the ſeuenteenth day, the Admirall ſent preſently all his Gallies towardes the ſaide bridge by ſundry Channells. And himſelfe ſayled downe the channell, which directly ranne vnto the bridge, and came ſo neere, as that hee was within danger of the Harquebuze ſhot. And on his left ſide in another Channell, were two of the demie Canons aforeſaid: and on the right hand was the Admirall of Zierickſea with two other demie Canons: and ſome of the Gallies were come through another Channell, and had gotten ſo very neere the enemye, as that they ſhote foure or ſixe of the Harriners, and gald diuers of the reſt. Theſe lay battering at the bridge from morning tyll noone.

But as one of the aforeſayd veſſels began to ſpyl, by reaſon of the force of a bullet that was ſhot, & that the other mighte likewise haue bene ſo ſerued, and withall ſeeing the enemye, notwithstanding the great loſſe of his people not once remooue, the Admirall cauſed to ſounde the retraite. Howe, this retraite could not bee without the loſſe of the princes people, eſpecially of thoſe, whiche were with the Admirall of Zierickſea.

There were amongeſt this company certaine French gentlemen Captaines, as Catteuille, Durant, and Guilerelle, who were too too forward with their ſouldiers againſt the enemye, for they had gotten with their barks, behinde the turtheayes, not farre from the enemyes houſes & trenches, thinking to haue ſet them on fire. But the Admirall rettying without any noyſe,

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and not knowing them to bee so farre forth, the enemy percei-
uing them to bee there, so lustily assailed them with such a great
number of boates, as that Catteuille, Guileresse, and seuen soul-
diers moe, by reason of the reculing of their barke, were drow-
ned.

But Durant and certaine souldiers with him, saued theselues
by swimming, neuerthelesse the enemy as it was after well
knowne, receiued a farre greater losse, through the shooting off,
of the great ordnance. For, their boates were full fraught with
their dead, hurt, and gald men, and carried to Uright : Inso-
much that some scoffing fellowes, iested and saide, That fry-
ers Gray was very deare ware, because that whosoever woulde
goe to the Popes heauē must needes bee buried in a Fryers Spi-
riours coule, and the time was that they would put them coffyn &
all into the coule, when as they carryed them very vsauery
from the campe, as commonly it fell out both at Amsterdam and
also at Uright, where they are buried in the body of y^e Church.

And although the princes armie, had with the great ordnāce
merueilously annoied the enemy, as had also the valiant souldi-
ers of the Colonels of the Baron of Popelle, and of the Cap-
taine of the garde, yet it shoulde seeme, that they wonne no
great matter by it. For the water rose not so high, as they looked
for, and that was by reason of the infinite thousandes of hallocks
which sucked vp the water, the winde also serued them to no pur-
pose: and besides, the enemy vsed many and sundrie meanes to
daine the water aside.

Moreouer, the said bridge was marueilous strongly fortifi-
ed, and againe, the boates which had the demie canons in them,
woulde other wise haue bene trimmed: so that it seemed, all
that cost and trauell to be vtterly lost, and themselues at their
wits end. Howbeit, the Lorde God purueyed for them two ma-
ner of wayes: to wit, first by reason of the Northeast wynde
which blew by a mightie gabe, the 18. 19. & 20. dayes of Sep-
tember: & secondly through the good counsell y^e was giuen to M.
Peter Wastell, one of his Excellencies counsell, who in this
dealing was very diligent and carefull: for as he was deuising
with two countrie men, they told him, that they needed not passe
by that bridge, seeing they might passe the way called Segwart,
Iping

lying betweene Soetermeir and Benthouse. When the counsellour heard thus much, he tolde it to his Excellencie, and returning to his campe, sate hereupon in counsell, with the Admiral Noielles, the Captaine of the garde, and with certaine estates of the Admiraltie, and they all concluded, as abovesaid.

And heereupon, Admirall Boylot, accompanied with Ma^rstell aforesaide, with the guard, eight gallies, and senentie souldiers, directed his course that night towards Segwart way, and there arriued before such time as the enimie had any vnderstanding of them: for the vice Admirall lay with the armie before the said Soetermeir bridge.

Nowe, when they had gotten this way, the Captaine of the guard, desired Citadelle an Italian Gentleman, and y^e Baron of Noielles Lieuutenant, to fortifie and entrench with Nauwiraute, and halfe the souldiers on Benthouse side: And master Bochart with Captaine Labriere, and the other halfe of the souldiers, on Soetermeir side. And the meaning hereof was this, y^e although the whole force of the enimie should sodenly beake vpon them, yet thought they hereby safely to returne to their ships, howbeit all in vaine: for the enimie seeing himselfe deceiued, had no great stomacke to ferrit them out: and y^e Almaines who lay at Benthouse, so soone as night came, shewed a faire payre of heeles, & they which lay at Soetermeir, in the morning forsooke their trench, & retired towards Leyden, to wit, towards Nothaske, Soeterwouwe, Rykwegge, & Wepport, carrying with them their artillarie, and fortified themselves in manie houses. Now, the treaches in Segwart way, were not finished withoute the great trauell of the princes people, who labored all that night vpon y^e knees in the water, y^e wind mightilye blowing at y^e North-East. The next morrow Admirall Boylot, sent the Captaine of the garde to looke for the armie, which through Gods mightie hand, arriued there, without the losse of any one man.

The Almaines aforesaid, were no sooner gone from Benthouse but y^e captaine Labriere had gotten their trench. When the Princes people were passed Segwart way, hauing set on fire the houses which stood on Soetermeir way, Captaine Cret an Orngian arriued at Soetermeir with three companies of souldiers, and the arke of Delft. This Arke, was a strange Delft.
buyle

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buylt and trymmed beſſell, well furniſhed with great ordnance, but very noyſome to the armie, by reaſon of the lownes of the water, inſomuch that they thought once to haue burnt her, but be-
 cauſe ſhee had in her betwixt fifteene & twentie peeces of greate
 ordnance, they founde the meanes to bring her to the foreſaide
 place, that ryding there, ſhee might keepe the paſſage. This
 Arke, was built of two ſhippes ioyned together, and was rowed
 neither with ſpytes, nor oars, neither yet driuen with the helpe of
 any ſailles, but by wheelles, wrought within her, & ſo very ſtrong-
 ly built all ouer, as that no muſket ſhot was able to pearſe her.
 She was of burden able to beare ſittie luſtie men for defence, and
 twelue to turne the wheelles.

The next morrow they were determining, whether they ſhould
 goe on, or carrie a while longer. The Admirall Boyſot thought
 it beſt to purſue the enemy, reculed : and to the ende that both
 the Leydens, and alſo the enemy might deſcrie him a farre off,
 hee was reſolued, to take this enterpriſe in hande, with twentie
 Gallies, and appoynted the reſt of the armie to follow him. Wee
 haue heeretofore ſpoken how the veſſels which beare the demie
 Canons, were riuen with the force of the Canon. But becauſe
 they had neede of them, they were ſpeedily new calked, pitched,
 and tallowed at Delft, and beeing trimmed with leadde and ſalt
 hydes againſt the force of the powder, they folowed the armie the
 thyrde day after. The Admirall hauing ſailed not paſſing a
 myle from benchouſe, was tolde as it was gheſſed, that aboute
 the waters which ranne downe towardes Noſta, that the enemy
 might ſtrengthen himſelfe in certayne houſes thereabout, how-
 beit, when they had inquired after it, the thing was found to bee
 farre otherwiſe: wherfore he mad towards Noſta, and got him
 euen within a muſket ſhot thereof, where hee might perceiue
 how that betweene two or three hundred well armed Almains,
 had leſt two houſes, and were fled with all poſſible ſpeede, to the
 other ſide of Noſta little Heere, where the Spaniards were
 intrenched. Whereupon the Admirall luſtily purſued them
 with force of Dares, and orderly enbattailed himſelfe within an
 harquebuze ſhot of the enemy. From this trench in Noſta
 houſes, were the muſkets brauely diſcharged, but the Drengh-
 ans ſo defended themſelues with their great ordnance, as that
 the

the Spaniards knewe not where to hide his head.

When the aforesaid Almaines had closely conueyed themselves behinde two hay stacks, to keepe them out of the danger of the great shot, they rettyed towards Soeter wood: which skirmishe lasted from noone, vntill the Euening: But about mydnight, the Admyrall caused an Alarme to be giuen by certayne small shot, whom the Spaniards aunswereed foure or fve tymes, to the end, to shew them, that they were not departed, but they fearing of surprisling, so stilly and slyly rettyed towards Soeter wood, as that the Admirall neuer perceyued it, vntill the next morrow.

The Dengians were greatly annoyed, by reason that the Spaniards had stopped the course of the water, whiche ranne downe towards Soeter wood: & besides, they were in a greate fault, in that they made not a trenche at the entrie of the little Meere: for if they had, the Admyrall had found as daungerous a peece of work of it, as was the enterpryse at Soetermeir bridge: howbeit, the Lord God meaning to increase his glory, so blinded them, as that they became senslesse. When all the rest of the army were come with the great ordinance, the Admiral & al his whole army were gottē into a very large & broad streame, running towards Suyten, where they discharged all their greate ordinance, because the Leydens should both see, heare, and bee encouraged, for in seuen daies before, they had not heard so much as a worde from them. The Leydens againe aunswereed them with their great ordinance, in token, that they were not as yet discouraged, although their food was no better then Cow beefe, and horse flesh. They had in the towne about nientie horses, and from the foureteenth of September, they begaune to distribute halfe a pound of the sayde horse flesh to a man for one dayes victuall.

*The liuelines of
a lusty captain,
ruined men
halfe dead,*

The Colleagues and adherents of proud Baldez, came dayly before the gates of the Towne, menacing, mocking, and iesting, and mixing withall sometimes very sweete and sugred wordes. And on a tyme certayne of his Captaynes and Officers, meeting with a young youth, going frō the Towne to Leyerthorp: sayde vnto him: Tell your Townes men, that it is as possible for your Prince to aide and deliuer your Towne, as it is for you,

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to catch the starres in the skie with your handes. These were the
 flaunderous, high, and proude woordes of this Infidell Maran,
 and of his adherentes, who thought themselues to haue as well
 provided for the Campe, and siege about the Towne, as that nei-
 ther y^e Townes men, nor yet any man liuing, was able to with-
 stand him, or hinder his deuise: neuer thinking that there was a
 God, who could and woulde deliuer the poore afflicted soules
 from the handes and sword of the Tyrant. Howbeit these threat-
 ning wordes, & faire promyses withall, were not altogether
 fruitlesse, because they wrought effectually in some inconstant &
 vnsected myndes: by which they being moued by reason of y^e great
 famyne, which so grieuously touched thē, as y^e there was like to
 haue bin a manifest discord in the Town, had not y^e Lord God by
 M. James & Iohn de la Does, Lords of Northwyke, wisely and
 grauely provided against it. For about the very self same tyme,
 that these things thus fel out, 15. Citizens (who as they said, had
 aboue 300. moe of theyr confederacy) went to the Towne house,
 calling for victuals, and that if none were there to be had, that
 meanes might be found for y^e prouiding of some: where one of y^e
 Bozroughmaisters protested, that he would not be the cause of
 y^e death of those which died of hunger: who (as they said) had at y^e
 instāt, 7. Bacon hogges left in his house, insomuch y^e these wordes
 had wrought a farre greater effect, had not the Deputies & the
 rest of the Magistrates, with the Captaynes & the other citizēns
 in authority, been more constant, & faithfull, & had besides, trusted
 more assuredly to y^e mercifull prouidence of God. For where some
 of the rest of the Magistrates, earnestly trauelled to perswade
 the people of the great mercy of Baldez, and of the notable par-
 don, and withall, of the promises conteyned within the letters a-
 boue written, these men on the other side set before the eyes of y^e
 simple and saynthearted Citizens, all examples to the contra-
 ry. For the sayde pardon was by some, so lustely mainteyned, as
 that they shamed not to giue their good fellow citizēns reproch-
 full wordes only, but of a froward affectiō belied thē also: saying, y^e
 they which trusted not to the pardon, were errād the cues, which
 saying, put them in great feare: not sticking besides, freely to cry
 out & say, y^e they had redeemed the tōgs of their Lombard: & this
 speech, as before hath byn sayde, arose by reason that the commis-
 sary

A discord in
 Leyden by rea-
 son of y^e famine.

fary Bronchoft was dead, who so long as he liued helde them at the staues end, and trussed some of them vp in an halter.

Duer & besides these iniurions & reprochfull wordes, the secret counsels which they there oftentimes held, came to litle effect, for y^e Lord God had stirred vp the hart of a godly woman, who from time to time aduertised the faithfull ones of all their whole deuises, so that they continually put themselues in armes, before their secret enemies could bring any part of their enterprise to passe, and it was so wisely and discretely handled, as that they thought it to bee done vpon some other occasion: which caused the dissemblers and counterfets, not once dare to take in hande that theyr deuise, by reason they were inwardly stricken with shame and feare.

There were certaine also, which came the very same time to Peter Adryan son the Burrough master, shewing him both by lamentable & threating wordes, of their pouertie & hunger, thinking that they should thereby moue him to seeke some meanes to agree with the enemye. Howbeit, he in these few wordes answered them, and said: By good friends, & beloued fellow citizens, I haue made an oth, which by the grace of god, I meane constantly to keep: If my death, sith I am sure I must once die, may any way pleasure you, it is all one to me, whether you or y^e enemye kill mee: for, for mine owne part, I intend (god willing) to go on a plaine & direct course: & therfore, if this carkasse of mine will do you any good, in gods name take it, cut it in peeces, & deuide it as farre as may possibly stretch, for I shalbe contented therewith. The citizens were at this answere so amazed, as y^e they went away without any moe wordes. Now, for the better maintaining & nourishing of this dissention, & the encouraging of y^e faithles, & discouraging of the godly & valiant, & withall, for declaration y^e the wordes aforesaid, of the impossibilitie of their deliuerance were true, the aforesaid de Wibesina & certaine other fugitiues of the towne, had euen for the vp shot, written the 22. of September to the Leydens, the summe whereof ensueth.

That theyr great affection & loue, enforced them once moze to write vnto the Leydens, willing the to take heede, that they brought not their towne to extreme misery & calamitie, when as all hope of grace shall fayle the. And therfore wished the not to

A letter of the
dispanitized fu
gitives to the
Leydens.

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to trust ouer much to theyꝝ owne wisdomē, by their ouermuch crediting of y^e, and which they looked for frō the pꝛince of Orange. And to the end they might see, howe greatly they desired theyꝝ deliuerance from all wretchednesse and miserie, they verily beleueed, that they should bee able to sende them passeport for thye or 4 persons, which might come & visite his maiesties campe, to see if they might possibly deliuer them either by water or lande, and in the meane while offered to sende some of theyꝝ companie for ostages to the towne. Or if it pleased them to send certain to talk of the matter, they would also finde y^e meanes, that it shold so bee: and woulde as much as was possible, helpe them both with theyꝝ act and counsell.

Wherefore, they aduised them not to neglect this aduertisement, and send an answer by the bearer heereof. Beseeching in the ende, God to pꝛeserue them: and so inspire them as that it might all turne to a good end. Subscribed thus:

By your good friendes to the vttermost of our powers.

I. V. Matenesse of Wibisma, Cornelius de la Hoogh, y^e sonne of Nicholas, Nicholas Oom Iohnson, Butenwegh, Bartholemew Alewiis, Gerbrant Meessens, Rene, the son of Iames.

A most noble & couragious answer of certaine citizens to those of the campe.

Unto the reprochfull wordes aforesaide, and to these letters, and slaunders, which the enimie dayly spake, certaine Citizens in the ende, standing vpon the Rampares, answered the Hachabite, saying: You altogether builde all your reasons vpon our famine, and that it is impossible for vs to bee ayded and deliuered. You call vs dogge and cat eaters. Wee tell you, that wee want no victuals, you heare that in our Towne, are both dogges kine, and horses. And if wee should in the end want these, yet hath euery one of vs a left arme to eate, and reserue the righte arme to beat the tyrant and the rest of you which are his bloody ministers from our walles: but if at the last, our force shall not bee strong enough, and that the Lord God meaneth by your hands to punish vs for our demerites, which wee, through the confidence that wee haue in his diuine goodnes, hope hee will not do, yet will wee neuer forsake his holy worde, nor yet giue ouer the

de,

defense of the libertie of our countrie, choosing rather when we are at the verie worst, to set our Towne on fier, then that it shold any way be gainefull vnto you, and we become your slaues. For it is more tollerable for vs, to bee slaine in fight with the Machabees then to see the miserie of our people, and indure your tyrannie both in our bodie and consciences: an answer vndoubtedly, worthe eternall memorie: whereunto, and such other like were the good Citizens encouraged by their wiues. For, there were a great number of them, which rather would haue dyed of hunger in their houses, then to haue peeled into the Tyrantes handes, because that the tyrannies of Harben, Surphen, Malynes, & Harlem were yet fresh in their heads.

We are now to returne to speake of the princes armie whiche we left at Nozta, where it was faine to stay a few dayes for want of water: because the enemy lay in the chanel towards Soeterwood, and also at Soeterwood, and thereby stopped the said chanel. This lying still of the armie, pleased no whit such ydle persons, as commonly will doe all things with their tongue, although they haue no experience in the whole world in warrelike affayres: most reprochfully crying out and asking, why the Admirals went not on, whiche in very deepe they might haue done, if the ships had had winges, seeing that the water in these furiest fieldes was not aboue niene ynches deepe, & the gallies drew a foote and an halfe, or two feete.

Wherefore the captaines required his Excellencie, beeing now whole to come to the armie, whither about that very time indeede he came. His comming greatly reioyced the armie, but no whit the enemy, who perceiued it by the triumph of the Canon. The order of the armie marueilously pleased his Excellencie, and gaue forthwith order to seeke for the way which was to be gauged, to wit, the Rypkweg, which thing was done by a gentleman Drenghian named Bultran, and the vice Admirall Cornelius Hycollsons, accompanied with Iust the Dooze, who made report thereof to his Excellencie, the Admirals and Colonels. Afterwarde, the way how to gauge it was appointed. But because it pleased not the Lorde that the water shoulde waie higher, nor none other winde blow, then at that time did, whiche made the water lower, they were resolved to thrust in by stealth

His excellencie
commeth to see
the fleet.

The determining
tion of the Lords
confered for
the reuictualing
of the towne,

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into the Towne, thirtie or fortie Barkes laden with bread. For the doing wherof captaine Grenu offered his seruice. And afterward, when his Excellencie had commanded the Admirals, Colonels and captaines to make al the possible speed that might be, he returned to Delft.

Although the Citizens of Leyden had conceiued some good hope for their deliuerance, as well by the letters frō the Estates the twelfth of that moneth, as also by the hearing and seeing of the effect of the great ordnance: yet because they had not long before that, neither receiued or yet sent any letters, by reason of the great warre that was about the Towne, they sent two messengers, who arriued the 26. of September about the Admirals: to declare vnto him the extreeme necessitie of the Citizens, which was in deed very great, but yet not so great as they said: and also to see the estate of the armie, whereof they themselves, if it were possible, should come back to make report to their fellowe Citizens, if not, & then they should send letters by the posts of the ayre: for to that end, had the messengers aforesaide, carried with them fire and bowes.

Nowe, as the messengers thought to returne towardes the Towne with the Admirals letters, they founde all the passages belaid, and therefore were driuen of necessitie to returne: howbeit the Admirall Boylot, had sent his letters the 27. of September by a flying poste, hauing written to the townes men, that by the grace of God, he would procure their ayde and deliuerance, praying them to remaine constant, & not lightly and vnadvisedly receiue in any victuals, without they saw himselfe, or some assurance from him, for he feared that the Spaniards vnder his name might by some stratageme abuse and deceiue them. The first flying messenger, arriued at Leyden the 28. of that moneth, whiche the magistrate by sound of the bel, gaue the people to vnderstand, & the 29. day he read & letters openly. Declaring vnto them how that his Excellencie himself had been with the armie, to giue order for their deliuerance, and & he had him commended vnto them all, beseeching them, yet for a while to continue constant, for the Lord of Hostes would send meanes to deliuer them. These letters greatly gladdened and incouraged the people: praying God, and incessantly, as the other confedered Townes had done,

*Necessitie, the
inuentie of a
cunning policie*

*A flying messenger
arriued at
Leyden.*

To bee short, the extreeme miserie in the Towne was such, as is impossible for mee to describe and set downe. But they who, after the deliuerance thereof, had scene their leane faces, and small and feeble legges, might easily haue witnessed the same.

And now to returne againe vnto the Princes armie, it had not needed to haue tarried long at Moxta, if it had beene certainelie knowne, that the Leydens coulde haue held out longer time.

Againe, the Prince and chiefe rulers of the armie, knewe right well, that the neerer Winter drewe on, the greater abundaunce of water woulde ensue. And the generall of the armie knewe well enough also, that hee must passe betweene Soeterwood, & Suyten house, and so did the enemy likewise, and therefore had especially placed his whole warde there. In the meane while many thought it best, to attempt by night Soetermeit Meere way, towardes Stompwyke way, but it was to no purpose, because that all the ditches and chanelis lay in and out crookedlie: & besides, the Spaniard also warded there. The Papists aforesaid, had lying vpon the Rhyne, fise great gallies, and well appointed boates, howbeit they wanted maryners.

As these thinges in this wise most lamentable stooode, the most mightie God and Lord of Hostes, who on extreeme necessitie neuer forsaketh his, hauing compassion on his miserable afflicted ones, woulde needes shewe forth his strong and outstretched arme, for the deliuerie of his desolate people out of the hands of a Tyrant.

Wherefore, he sent the windes his Ministers, who so violently blew vp, as that the waters arose and wonderfully ouerflowed. For besides, the great ouerflowing of the waters, the Northeast winde wonderfull violently blew vp, and brought againe the fallen water vpon the face of the earth: who so prospered the Southeast winde, as that it drave y^e same water towards Leyden: Insomuch, that the Princes armie, which before, as abovesaid, had but niene ynches of water, had then aboue two feet and an halfe, and was able to passe either at the first, ouer the high fieldes, vnto Rykswergh aforesaid, & if at any time they saw the water faile the, then would ten or twelue men goe out of euery ship, and so lighten her, y^e she might flote, & afterward passed o-

The waters by reason of the windes arise by mercurious.

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uer Kirkweigh: wherefore, they tooke their course towardes þ quarter in the night, betwixt the first & second of October, after they had giuen a false alarme vnto Stompwyke way.

The order of the
princes armie
at Sea.

The order of this armie of the princes by Sea, passing ouer the said high Territorie, was ranged & placed in maner as followeth. The Admiralles of Flushing & Ziericksea, had followyng ech of them fifteene gallies, which spred themselues abrode like two winges. And first, Admirall Boysot accompanied with the Colonell of the guard, had the leading of the left wing, on Soeterwood side, because it was thought that the greatest force of the enemy lay there: The Admiral of Ziericksea had in his company master Citadell, Bultran, capitaine Paule Dupyant and others. The vice Admirall was placed on the right side of Supten, accompanied with the Baron of Noieles, master Cornes & Bourchart, and with Captaines, Henric & Grenu. Philip de Asseliers, master of the ordnance, and warlike munitions, was appointed to tarry with the great ordnance, & eight or ten gallies vppon Noxta: for þ keeping of þ victuals, vntil such time as the said admirals had gotten Kirkweigh aforesaid, & that then hee shoulde follow, and brauely salute the Soeterwoodens with the great ordnance, which ordnance was charged with pretie little bags stuffed full of leaden bullets, to wit. 300. in euery bagge finely and artificially couched, and those to be dyspersed amongst the thickest of the enemy.

When all things were thus orderly arranged & placed, the armie departed about midnight, the day aforesaid, and the Gallies and ships were seuered an harquebuze shot one behind another, hauing in the middest about eighteene or twentie Barkes laden with Pyoners, and all kindes of tooles for entrenching. to the ende they myght so soone as it was possible, fortifie themselves at the said Church way. But the Spaniardes had appointed so great a watch in their small vessels, as that it might haue serued for the whole bodie of a ward. And when they saw the Admirall somewhat neere, they called aloud, and said: Who is there, who is there, but not a worde was giuen them, vntill suche tyme as the Admirall was gotten within Gun shot: and then he so saluted them with þ roaring and thundring of the Canon, as that the

the night seemed to bee day.

This watch answered them againe with caliuers, muskets, and certaine faulconet shot, and then left their vessels, & by little and little rettyed, still playing with their small shot, vntill they had gotten to the body of their ward, which was entrenched at euery corner of the way. Then salied they brauely out on euerie side, fiercely deliuering their muskets against the Drenghians: but the Zealanders so resaluted them with such on haile of Bullets, as that they were driuen with great losse to rettye to their trenches, leauing there behinde them, onely a few souldiers to maintaine the skirmish: who soone after also made their retrait: for the French Captaines, the captaine of the guard, Bultran, and Bourchart went on land, and entrenched themselves on Soeterwood side, and Grenu, Labriere, and others on the right side. In the mean while y they were quietly entrenching of theselues before the day breake, the Zealanders plaied frō their ships with their canons vpon the Soeterwoodens, but chiefly where they saw any fire or light, and shot fier also, into some of their houses. The Maryners & french souldiers which were on land, cast fier likewise into diuers of their houses. The captaines aforesaid returning on both sides from the skirmishe stucke thicke into the grounde all alongst the way stakes with long yron pykes at the ende of them, to the end y the enemye being once driuen from that way might neuer retorne thither againe.

The Drenghians
skirmish braue-
ly against the
Spaniards.

Now when the Drenghians had taken this Churche way, entrenched themselves, & placed a ward there: they gawged it in three places, to make a way for the passing of their gallies: In the mean while, the ships laden with victuals being about an hundred, were sent away, and arriued all neere the armie, two excepted, which going out of the right way, fell on the dry land, and so consequently into the handes of the enemye. And surely, here is one thing greatly to be considered of, that in the feates and deedes of armes of so great importance, doone in the sight and middest of the whole force of the enemye, there were not aboue fūe or sixe men of the Princes side slaine: But to say truly, this was Gods worke and not mans, for the good G D D when ic pleaseth hym, keepeth and defendeth his, euen in the greatest and most perillous dangers, to the ende hee woulde shewe vnto

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Tyrants and proude men, that bee is able to abase and throwe downe the power and strength, whereof they so highly bragge, that thereby he might make his glory, magnificence, and prayse, appeare the greater.

When all the whole armie by Sea, and victuallers, had passed that way: The Admirall of Flushing directed his course towards the meere bridge: Neuerthelesse, after he had sapled a little way, where he thought to haue found it deepest, it proued very shallow.

And then, the Zealanders shewed themselves to bee men of great stomacke, for they, for the unburdening of theyr ships leapt presently into the water, and like men that had rather haue carried theyr vessels away vpon theyr shoulders, then to haue least them, by that meanes got to Meerbrough.

When the Spaniards and the rest which lay encamped about Soeterwood Church in diuers Trenches, had seene the next day in the morning which was the second of October, that the Prince his armie had not as yet directed her course towards Leyden, thought that because they saw all on a light fier behinde them, that they meant to enclose them in Soeterwood. And that which most of all amazed them, was, that they sawe the water in so short time rysen so high: And therefore Baldez, the generall of their campe, considering, what aduantage the Drengeans, nowe had, began to quaille, and with such speed left Soeterwood, as that hee had not the leasure to carry away his great ordnance with him. Howbeit, hee was no sooner fled, but that Alfonse Loupes Gallio, folowed him with his seuen Ensignes, and tooke the way from Foxscote, through a place, whiche hee had for that purpose caused to be heightened with boughes and fagots.

When the Admirall and his retinue, were in Meerbrough he vnderstood nothing of this flight, vntill it was too late: and that the greater number of them were gotten away. Howbeit certaine Gallies cutting the way off from them, so brauely played with the great ordnance amongst the lustie heele lifters, as that a good manie of them were driuen to returne: who beeing thus scattered one from another, the Zealanders there

Baldez and his
companie take
a faire paire of
beeles.

thercupon, getting out of the water, fell vpon the tayle of those which fledde towardes Foxscote, and with their long rusty pikes, slew euery mothers sonne of them, and so lustely pursued them, as that many of the Enemies running directly befoze the, not knowing they way, drowned themselves in the ditches and channelles.

The rest, which could not gette to Foxscote, for feare of the great Ordnance of the Gallies, which had cut the waye off from them, fled towardes Stompwyke way, and casting their weapons farinough from them, tooke their heeles towards Leyerdam and Foxebrough. In this flight, and with the battery that was the night befoze, about 200. of Baldez souldiers, were pretely well cooled.

There were also certeine Barkes taken, laden with Baldez wine, victualles, and baggage, which were deliuered to the Admirall. But here is a thing greatly to be considered of, that notwithstanding that the Lord God, what by reason of y great ouerflowing of the waters, as also because of the good counsell which he inspired into them, had mightely assisted the Drenegers, wherby they might vse the fittest meanes for this purpose, yet had all this beene euē as good as nothing, seeing that the great numbers of the Enemy, and their fortes, seemed to be inuincible, if so be that he had not mightily feared and astonished the. For euē at that very instant, such a great feare came vpon the that laye at Leyelthorpe and Lammien, as that they trembled withal, to see their companiōs thus flye: and although the church and houses of Soeterwood, were all on a light fier, yet they which lay at Lammien, thought it best, not once to stirre one step from thence.

But to returne nowe againe to the Leydens, it hath heretofore beene sayde, That the Messengers whiche came frō Leyden to the Princes Maiey, brought Doues with them, one of which was sent backe againe, who saythfully carryed ouer her Letters: and beside, the Leydens looked for none other newes nor aduertisments, but when they should issue out of the Town, to set vpon the fort and trench of Lammien: which thing was written vnto them the first of October, howbeit, the flying poste did not her duerie, but was the first, that came the next daye to

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the town, so that the citizens gaue not the signe, which they were appoynted to doe, and therfore Admirall Boplot, who first arrived at the wyues bridge, thought the Towne had beene peeled by, because the Citizens were so still. Howbeit, when the Citizens saw the fier at Soeterwood, but especially the Church, to be on a light fier, knowing right well that the Spaniards laye there, and were rounde about well fortified in their trenches, they all merueilous ioyfully leaped vpon the Rampars, notwithstanding the Enemies being wel fortified in Lammen fort, the Cannon playing brauely from the trench against the Dzenegers Army: and besides, their seeing in the afternoone 300. soldiers at Cronstone, decayed house: Wherefore they carped their Ensignes to the Rampars, and tyed them to the Wynde mylles sayles, in token that they were of good courage, and merryp. And afterward, caused these foure poyntes of the great penaltie to be proclaymed,

First, that no women, young children, nor people vnmeeete to beare armes, should come to the Rampars: and that as many as did beare armes, must be with their accustomed armour & weapon, in his quarter, and place appoynted.

That they which had watcht the night before, should bee the next time at the body of their ward.

That none of them should depart from the Rampars, vntill the Magistrate called for them.

That all Boates and Barkes, shoulde departe out of the mayne Channelles and streames, into the side ditches or creeks, to the ende that the shippes which were to come into the town, should no way be stopped, but haue free passage: that the Citizens might helpe them, whether it were in the deepe, on the side, or in the comming out, according as they sawe it needefull and necessary.

Then the Burroughmaisters, shewed the shippes to their Citizens, saying: Beholde louing fellowe Citizens, here behinde this forte, is now, bread, what thinke you of it, shall we let it alone there? Then cryed the Citizens with one voyce, nay, but let vs rather pull downe the gate with our nayles, then suffer it to be stayed before Lammen.

Now,

Nowe, when the Admirall had for two causes, made the great Artillary to be brought through Soeterwood to Papenmeere: First for that, from thence Lammen fort was farre nearer on the left side: Secondly, because the shippes with victuals, might annoy one the other at Peerbrough: and so cause great incombzaunce, if so be the Enemy, (as hath beene aforesayde) were not discomfited.

The Spanyarden merueilously played with their great ordenaunce agaynst the Drenegers army, both from Lammen fort, and also from James Wyckholts forte at Medde: so that they slew with one Cannon shotte seauen of the Admirals men at a blowe, making thereby, the worlde beleue that they were fully determined to keepe the sayde fortes. But because this Trench of Lammen was the chiefest, which the Princes people most feared, by reason it stood on the hyer grounde, I haue thought good to make some small discription of the situation thereof.

The situation
of Lammen forte

This place standeth in a playne fielde, hauing no hye ground nor hilles about it, and all the Channelles and streames were quite and cleane dammed vp, about a quarter of a myle from the Towne. And the streame which runneth towardes Delft, is like the bowte of a mans arme, and on the one side thereof runneth a Channell from it as farre as the Rhine, and on the other side, an other Channell running towardes Soeterwood: the rest of this place with ditching and ramparing, might easily haue beene made sure & strong, by reason of the store of trees growing round about it.

The Rampare of this Trench was reasonably thicke, but yet not able to hould out the Cannon shot: It was also well furnished with great ordenaunce, souldiers, & with what soeuer els necessary for a Trench, so that (in any mans reason) if the Spanyarden had wel kept this one onely Trench, y^e Drenegers Armye had neuer beene able to haue passed, without the great losse of men. And yet notwithstanding, the strength hereof, the Admirall certeinlye determined, to sette vpon it: Wherefore on the seconde of October, about the Euening,

The Admirall
determineth to
batter Lamme
fort.

hee sente Captayne Grenu, Affeliers, and Captayne Harry,

to

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to see where he might, to the most aduantage plant his Dydenaunce, where they found, that they might plante two dempe Cannons at the corner of a channel, but not without great paine and perrill.

This night, the Admirall wrote to his Excellency, of all this situation aforesayd, and withall, how he meant the next morrow to batter it. But if so be the thing fel not out as he looked for, he would be contented, vntill such time as the water should waxe deepe, that it might be nauigable on the one side ouer their land. And although his Excellency, had committed the whole dealing hereof into the handes of God, yet these newes, pleased him no whit, but greatly doubted of the deliuerance of Leyden, as well because of the reasons aforesaid, as also for that he feared, there could be no sufficient breach made, to giue the assault, considering with all the fewnesse of his men. Howbeit the Lord of hostes would alone prouide for all these difficulties, and small hope, and giue the honour to his most mightie Arme, to the ende, men might vnderstand, that although they knew many practises, for the vanquishing of the Enemy, yet, that all should be in vaine, & to no purpose, without he put to his helping hand, and the victorie, to come from him alone.

For, after that the two Admiralles, the third of October had very early in the morning layed open the channelles, which were merueilously choked vp with great stakes and pylles, for the planting (as before hath been said, of their artillary, and battering of Lammen fort, they perceiued that the Lord God had preuented them, and would not haue the Enemy driuen awaye by the force of men. For he had giuen such a feare into y^e hearts of the Enemy, as that they made a shamefull flight, casting their Artillary into the ditches and channelles: Insomuch, that this night, they forooke the strong trench of Lammen. Howbeit there was neuer a man, eyther without, or yet within the Town that once vnderstood of this flight and retraite: although in very deede, a great noyse was heard in the night, as they soonke a great peece of Dydenaunce, in the channell right before the said fort: Neuertheless, there was a young stripling, who watching that night on the Rampare, saw many light matches goe out of the Fort, and none returne againe: And therfore he presumed,

The Spaniards forsake Lammen.

As in deede it was true, that the Spaniardes had forsaken the forte of Lammen, which thing he opened, and craued leaue, to goe thither: Nowe, this his request, was easily graunted him, with promise of sixe Flozins, to saye, if the Enemye were there, that hee ranne out of the Towne for verye hunger.

A young strip-
ling discouereth
to the magi-
strats that Lam-
men forte was
forsaken.

When hee was come to the forte, and found neuer a man there he wayued with his cappe, but yet for all this the Townsmen beleued him not because they doubted, that the Spaniard by some sleight had so commaunded him: Neuerthelesse, when they sawe, that an other which followed him passed before the forte towards the Admirall, wading by to the knees, to salute him, great ioy and myrth was made on euery side. And thereupon the valyaunt Captayne Gerard Lane, tooke his way with his Aduenturers towards Lammen forte, vntill he came to the first place that was strengthened with pylles, where he receiued with great ioye the Admiralles two first Gallies. For the Admirall being a man of iudgement, and not light of beeliefe, hadde sente these two Gallies before, which founde all to bee true, that was tolde him: to wytte, that they had lest the Forte, and soonke two great peeces of Ordnance in the Channell.

After that the passages were layde open, and cleared of the pylles, the Admirall Lewys Boylot, ioyfully prayling GOD, made out the Vauitgarde towards Leyden, where hee quietely entred at eyght of the clocke in the morning.

The Admirall
Boylot entred
Leyden.

And Adrian Gyllanne the Admirall of ziericksea ledde the Rereward. But it was a lamentable thing to see, the miserable starued people deuoure the rawe Herringes, which the Admirall at his entrie, cast vnto the people: and likewise the breade, whereof, some of them eate so greedely, as if they shoulde neuer haue beene filled: Whereupon, many of them which so fed, surfeited, and by litle and litle, great numbers died thereof.

On the other side of the Towne, towards Harlem Heere, were three Gallies of Amsterdam, who nowe and then saluted the Towne with the Cannon: But when they percepued the ayde, and with all the Artyllarge of the Towne, they were
so

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so heartily afeard, as that they pacte awaye with all their whole company.

When the Admirals were in the Towne, they with theye retynue, and Citizens, went to the Church, to thanke God with all their heartes, for his laying vnder the water, the fieldes, and drye lande, and conducting of them to the desired place and porte.

Baldez his people, who the day before forsooke their fortes, had sitered Docterwood but chiefly Wypporte, and being stricken with feare, forsooke also the thirde of October, their Cabyns, without burning of them, but especially the forte of Leyerthorp, and all thereabout. For although they were aboute thre, to one Wynger, who, when they were altogether, were not both of soldiers, maryners, and others which bare Armes, besides those whiche had the leading of the vitualles, aboute two thousande five hundred, whereas Baldez men, after their own reckoning, were, betwixt eleauen and niene thousand at least, as also may verve well appeare by their Letters aboue mentioned: But the Almighty God, as before hath beene sayde, for the deliuerace of his people, strooke them with a merueilous great terror, as he in olde time stroke Senacherib, for the deliuerpe of his people Israel. And I thinke, that if the Hispaniolized Leydens, woulde confesse the truegh (as some of them haue already done at Leyerthorpe) they woulde testifie that feare was the cause. For the Wyngers are not ashamed, for their partes to confesse, that if their hope and confidence had not been in an inuisible ayde, and that they before hand sawe, that thing, which now they see, to wit, y the Towne being on euery side encompassed, with so manye Trenches and Bulwarkes, as that it was unlikely that they euer once durst haue attempted, to reuictuall and succour the Towne with so fewe people. But the Lorde God would needes shewe his mightie hand, and stretched out arme, to the end that all glory might be giuen to his heauenly wisdom and goodnesse.

And wee are not here to forget a very great and merueilous accident, to wit, that the selfe same night, wherein the Spanyarde forsooke the Forte of Lammen, there fell downe a paeue of the wall, and bauncure of the Towne, betweene the
Cov

The number of
the Wyngers
soldiers & mart-
ners, is not in al
about 1500.
men.

Cowgate and Bourgoin Tower, sixe and twentie Poles longe, so that there was a breache made without any batterye. If the Enemy had had this aduantage before, to wit, two or three nightes before, when as they thought, in the night, by scale, to haue surprised the Town at Hoogewoert Gate, which they scaled, and thought to haue wonne, because a sonde younge Mench had giuen them to vnderstande, that the watch was very small: Howbeit, they founde it otherwise. For, before such time as three Harquebouzes were discharged, they all retreped: No doubt of it, they might haue thought the same, to bee as woonderfull a thing, as the Citizens now make of this, hurte and feare onely excepted, because that they breache was made without batterye: But it pleased the Lorde **GOD** to deale otherwise with the Citizens: for they, in steede of takinge of harme, receiued benefite. For, the great noyse was it, that encreased the feare of the Enemy: by reason they thought, that the Citizens had sallied out of the Towne, to charge them in the face, and the Drengers on the backe, and therefore had the Townsmen so much the more cause to prayse the Lord.

When the Admirall was come to Leyden, hee forthwith wrote to his Excellencye lying at Delft, how that God had striken the Enemy with such an horrible feare, as that they hadde forsaken the fort of Lammien, which was the cause of his entrie into the Towne.

This Letter was caried to his Excellency the 3. of October, and deliuered vnto him at two of the clock in the afternoon, being at the Sermon, which without all doubt, were other manner of newes then that came in the morning: Wherefore, so soone as the French Sermons were finished, he caused the minister, openly to read the Letter, and thankfully and ioyfully praying the Lord. The like also was done at the 2. great churches, so that these newes were ioyfully spread ouer, in a verie great Company and Congregation of the people, and in his excellencies presence. The same also was done in the rest of the Towns of Holland, with honours, and such like tokens of ioy.

After that the Admirall had thus victualled the Towne of Leyden, thanked and prayed the Lord of his grace, encouraged

Citi

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Cytlzens, and filled them with meate, they pursued the vnto
corpe, and fell vppon the Enemye that laye entrenched about
Leyperthorpe.

The Trenches at Leyperthorpe was wonderfull stronge, and
they which lay there greatly bragged, and tolde the messengers
which came thither, of their merueilous force, which tended;
as it nowe fell out, to their greater shame, and the Lordes far
greater honour: and more villanously forsooke the Fortes and
Trenches of Hays, and the Oldwating, where they had remai-
ned a full yeare and a daye. For a very small number of the
Princes Trauncurrers, which, as it is sayde was not aboue a
dosen, put two of the Enemies Ensignes to flight: some of
which fled with such speede, as that they ceased not running vntill
they came to the gates of Amsterdaine, saying, in their own
excuse, that all the whole Campe was discomfited and put to
flight. At the same time likewise, did Baldez his people forsake,
not onely Gaude sculse Trenches, but also all therest, to the
number of two and twentie, saue Madding alone, where remai-
ned certeine souldiers for the freeing of the passage. Nowe,
in this voyage and expedition, there were no moe of the Prin-
ces parte slaine, then fortie; but of the Enemies, by theyr
own confessiō, aboue a thousand. Howbeit, here is one thing not
to be forgotten, which the sayde Baldez lefte in his Lodginge,
to wit, the Towne of Leyden ppyctured, with all her royall
wayes, pathes, and Channelles of water, and all in such ma-
ner as they were guarded, and defended with fortes. And when
he was enforced to rayse his Campe, he wrote vnder this ppyc-
ture: Vale Cinitas; valete Castelli parui, Quia relictis estis
propter aquam, & non per vim Inimicorum. That is to saye,
Farewell Leyden, and all the small Castelles about thee; for
the Waters haue dryuen vs out of you; and not the force of the
Enemy.

I confesse in deede, that the waters were one of the princi-
pall meanes to cause Baldez leaue the Town and Trenches:
But if he woulde haue spoken truly, he should haue sayde: It
is the myghthe and strong arme of the Lord which hath enforce-
d me to leaue you, who hath put me in such a terryble feare,
as that Antiochus, neuer fled out of Persia with greater
disho-

A few Lattin
words written
by Baldez.

dishonour, neither Timothe towards Gazara, nor yet Lysias frō the Bachabees, then I and my people, O Leyden, haue bin diuē to leaue thee and all my fortēs.

When his Excellency had heard of the foresaide newes, he ^{His Excellency} went the next day to Leyden, giuing the citizēns great thanks, ^{gott to Leyde.} both for their fidelity, and also for their so valiantly defending of themselves without souldiers, against so populous an enemy, and therefore told them, that both they and their children should be well rewarded for their great trauell. And after ward, he set an order in euery thing, as wel about y^e affaires of the Towne, as of the warres, to the end he might make his profit of the victory, which the Lord had giuen him.

Howbeit for the greater manifestation of the wonderful works of G D D, I haue one thing more heere to speake of whiche is not to be passed ouer in silence, and that is this, that the foure of October the winde being then at the Southeast, & the next 3. or 4. daies following, so lustely blowing vp at the Northeast, as that no mā without great danger, was able to passe frō Delft to Leyden, because the water as fast as was possible left y^e fields, and returned againe to Sea.

Duer and besides the victuals aforesaid, which were brought to Leyden, his Excellency, and his counsel thought it good, that all the rest of the Townes round there about, should ayde and assist the pooze famished Leydens, to the ende that the miserable soules who had so long time got nothing, but consumed al their moueable goodes might be holpen, and so the richmens victuals thereby last the longer.

For which cause, the deputies of Delft, went all Delft through with their Waggones and Boates, gathering amongst the Citizens, great store of Bread, Butter, Flesh, Cheese, Lard, Fish, and money, to the value of a 1000. Florins and better. Which did not onely mightely helpe the pooze, but also so eased the rich as that the Towne was therby likewise reuictualled, which encreased not only a farre greater amity, betweene the Townes, but confirmed also their alliance, a great deale the more.

And although al the world knoweth, y^e not only this warre of Leyden, but also of the whole low countries, was taken in hand,

S

partly

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partely for the defence of the lybertie of the Countrey, yet shall it better appeare by certeine peeces of Artillary, which the Enemies of the lybertie of it, had caused to be made, to the better abolsyng of the whole libertie thereof, as by the manner of it euen very noyme, we shall vnderstande. For, the Leydens being thus distressed about the lybertie of the same, and in the ende delpuered, founde the verye same daye of their lyberte and delpueraunce, a very great peece of Ordnance, named the Lybertie, which the Spanyardes had soonke in the midst of the Channell. The Lord therfore graunt them, that they may with all p̄serue the libertie of their Countrey, and vse it to his glory.

The 8. of October, his Excellency departed from Leyden towards Hage, where he tooke order, if it were possible, for the conseruation and holding of the place, as the onely key of Harlem Peere.

The 9. day his Excellency went to Gaude scluse, about the ordering of all thinges necessary there, where was a very strong Trench: But by reason of the daungerous disease which his heighnesse had at Roterodam, the Spaniards presumed, that the warre was made in his name being dead: and therefore two Spaniardes were sent to Leyden with Passepoyt from Iulpan Romero, to see if he were aliue: and if they found him so, that they should talke with his Excellency about the deliury of M. S. Aldegonde, in exchaung of Colonnell Mondragon, whereupon they agreed: and when his Excellency had dispatched their Passepoyte and Letters, hee within two houres after, sent them away. And after that his Excellency, for the causes abouesayde sufficiently set down, had chaunged the great counsel of Leyden, the 14. of that month, hee tooke his way to Gaude the 15. where M. S. Aldegonde hauing remayned prisoner about a yeares space, returned franke and free, and was with ioy receiued of many good people.

A litle while after, that the sayde Baldez was come to Harlem, he dayly lamented and bewayled his great mishappe: For there beganne a great vyrore amongst his souldiers, and they mortally hated him, and gaue it openly out, that he had dealte
for

M. S. Aldegonde
deliuered out
of prison.

for the Leydens, and receiued of the two barrelles of gold for the sauing of the Towne : Insomuch that this hute, together the Arrerages of their paye, for many monethes, gaue them such occasion, so to disdayne, and mislike him, as that they tooke him prisoner, and after they had placed one Eletto in his rowme, to be their gouernour, they caused him, write Letters to the great Commaundatoz of Castill, to send them their pay with in tenne dayes, or els they woulde seeke some other place of seruice, and get money where it was to be had.

Baldez his soldiers mutyne.

When the tenne dayes were expyred, which was aboute a moneth after the deliuerance of Leyden, they forsakinge the Schulse of Daelland, Leperdam, Fozescote, Falkenbrough, and other places, assembled themselues on foote and horseback, betwixt sixe and seauen thousand men, both of Spaniards, Almaynes, and Mallons, and leauing the whole Countrey of Southhollande,ooke the way to Harlem, and Amsterdame, but when they found the Gates shutte vpon them, they marched towardes Utright, where they hoped to be payed : so that the Countrey of Hollande, for that tyme, through the great goodnesse of G D D, was quite and cleane rid of those Enemies.

Baldez soldiers marched to Utright.

When the Spaniardes and their Companye were arryued the eighte of December befoze Utright, the Lorde of Hierges, Floion, and Baldez proclaymed them his Maiesties Enemies, by which meane, it was lawefull for the Citizens to kill as many of them as they could catch: for perfourming wherof, a litle entreatie would haue serued : wherfoze the Spaniardes hadde brought that day with them, pyrch, strawe, and goonpowder, to set Weerd Gate on fier : But the Citizens valyantlye salping out of the Towne, so brauely repulled them, as that they slewe about fitye Spaniardes. But not being contented herewith, they, the 17. of the sayd moneth, about the day breake, issued out of the ditches, with their Eletto John Bianco, to scale Sainte Katherines Gate, & some of them hauing entred befoze day, slew certein of the watch: howbeit the said John Bianco hauing sworn he would enter Utright, either aliue or dead, after he had a good

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John Bianco,
the mutynous
Spaniards & C.
letto slaine.

auncely defended him selfe against the mightie multitude of the Citizens, he was there by mayne force of Armes, slaine, and all his companye beaten backe, and dꝛyuen from the Rampars. For the Cytizens were so flesht on them, and therby so enbouldened against them, and they of the Castle, so holpe the Spaniards, by the annoyng of the Citizens with their great M^ddenance, as that there were but 200. Spaniards laid on Gods deare earth.

Nowe after that the Leydens had first thanked God, and next his Excellency, as befoze hath beene sayde, they thanked also the Admirall Boysot, and presented him with a chayne of golde, hauing hanging at it a great picture of gold. The Estates also of Hollande, gaue vnto the sayde Admirall a Chaine of golde woorth sixe hundred florins. When the great Commandator of Castille sawe, that Leyden was ayded against the opinion of all the worlde, and that his people were merueilouslye discontented, hee sente his Deputies in December 1574. vnto his Excellency, and to the Estates of Holland and Zeland, about the Communication of a peace, which was graunted him, and the Assembly appoynted to be at Breda.

When the Emperour heard of this, hee sent in Februarie 1575. the Count of Swartsenbrough to the sayde treatie of peace, where the sayde Count, as a mediatour, sought by all meanes possyble to conclude it on eyther side.

The Treaty of
peace at Breda
broken of 1575

But whyles the sayde Prince and Estates of Holland and Zelande stood styll for the keeping of the exercise of the reformed Relygion, and that the sayde Commandator would not agree thereto, this Conferrence and assemblie broke of, and did nothing.

Buren besieged
and rendred.

The Spaniards besieging the Towne and Castle of Buren, was by the Gouvernour of the said Towne, without any battery, peccled vp: wherefore the Estates of Holland would haue put him to death: howbeit the Prince for all that, sent him to the Castle of Gaude, there to be safe kept.

The marriage of
the Prince.

The 11. of June his Excellency marryed at the Biell, the most famous Princesse, Charlotte of Bourbon, Duke Montpensier his daughter, the very true myrrour of all vertue.

As

As the Spaniards were besieging the Towne of Oldwa-
ter, the eight of August 1575. his Excellencie arrived at Gaud, Oldwater fire,
prised by as-
sault.
and caused the Dykes to be gauged, that the fieldes might bee
laide under the water, for the rayling of the Spaniards campe.
Which when the enemie understood, furiously battered the town
with y Canon, made a breach, and forthwith gaue the assault, so
that at the thirde attempt the towne was taken, and at their en-
trie, they slue all the Citizens and souldiers, and burnt the grea-
ter parte thereof.

The 12. of the saide moneth, as the enemie bypon the soden Schoonhoue
rendered.
encamped before the Towne of Schoonhoue, his Excellencie
sent thither the Captaine of the garde a french Colonel, a man
very well experimented, as well in warre like Affayres as in
matters of state, who had very faithfully doone to the said prince
and Estates of Holland and Zealand many good offices and ser-
uices.

And although that this Towne was no way able to holde
out, both by reason of the weaker rampares, as also because of the
faint hearts of many of the Citizens, yet this Colonel so nobly
saue his honour, as that hee attended all the day long for the
assault, where a breach through the force of 23. Canons, was
made 300. paces broad.

But the next morrow, although hee wanted able men for
defence, yet hee in such sort repaired the Rampares & breach, as
that hee made an honorable peace, sauing his people both with
bag and baggage.

The great commendator being assisted by the treason of cer-
taine Hollanders, passed, contrary to the opinion of the whole
world, at a low water marke, through the Isles of Saint Anne,
Philippelant, and Duuelant, the 28. of September, the yere a-
foresaid, where gouernour Boylot was slaine. After that, hee
tooke by assault and force, the fort of Bommenem, but not with-
out the great losse of his Spaniards, and then encamped, before
the Towne of Ziericksea.

The enterprise
of the comma-
dor upon the
countrey of
Sconwerme.

The eleuenth of Februarie 1576. the Prince wanne Crym-
pen fort, which greatly auayled him, for by it, he preserued & kept
Swyndright, and all the rest of the places nere aboute Rotter-
dame and Doordright.

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The death of
the commanda-
tor.

During these exploits, the Commandator died at Buxelles the
fift of March of the Plague, wherefore the gouernment of the
countrie was committed by his Maiesties appointment, to the
handes of the councell of Estate.

Fiericksea ren-
dered.

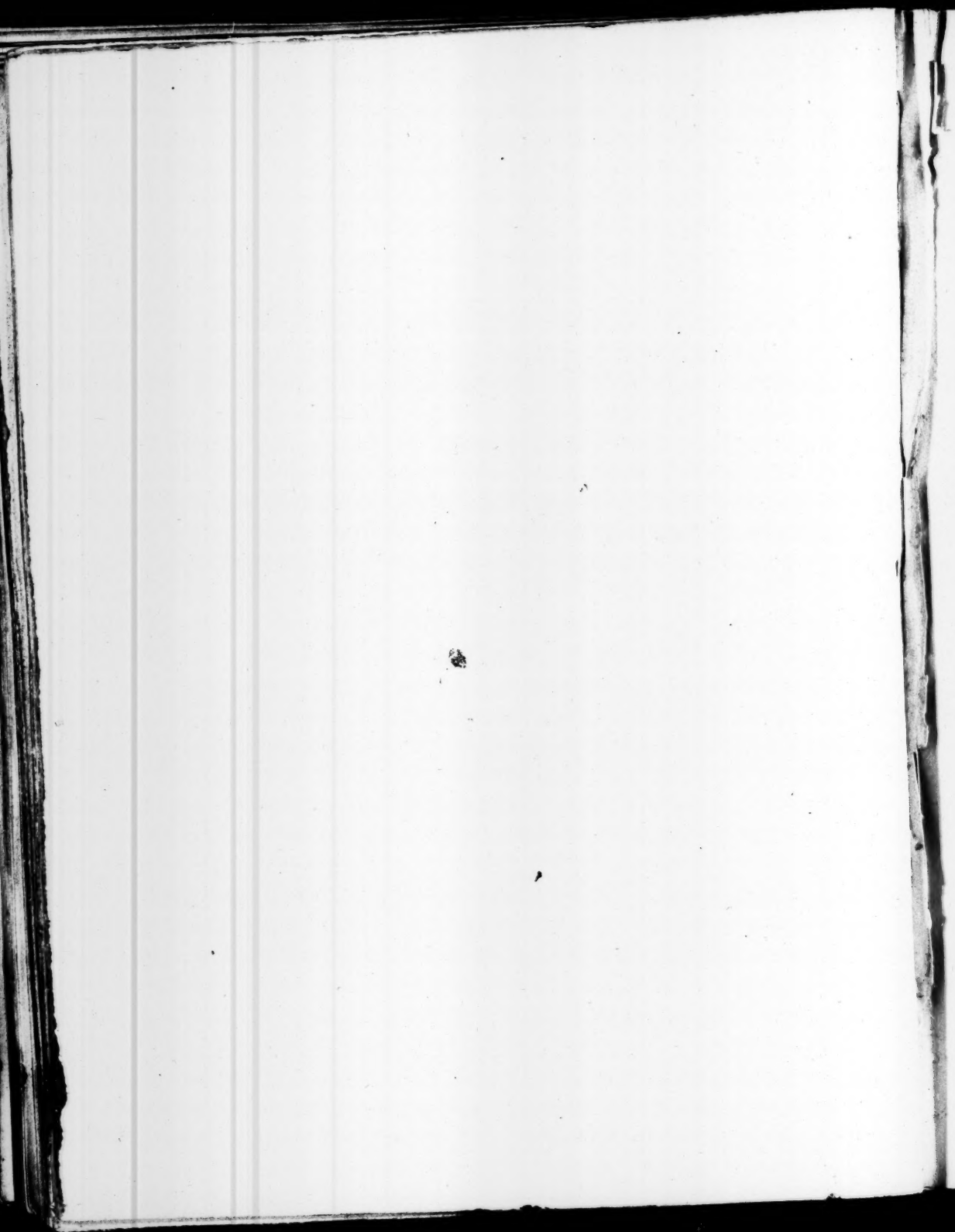
In May the yeere aforesaid, Fiericksea was by reason of fa-
mine rendred to the Spaniards, although all the Hollanders &
Zealanders, had done what they could to helpe and reuictuall it,
but all was in vaine. The Spaniards at that time beginning a-
gaine to mutine for their pay, thought to haue surprised Bux-
elles, for they presumed to haue good store of butin there. How-
be it when the Citizens hearde of it, they so well looked about
them, as that matter Spaniard went without his purpose: wher-
fore, they tooke the way to Alost, where they entred without any
resistance, in the end of Iuly, dealing with the Citizens, as if
the Towne had been taken by assault, sacking and iniuring the,
as if they had been their enemies.

The Outnours
Spaniards enter
the towne of
Alost.

The Estates of Brabant considering of the outrages, info-
lences, and rebellion of the Spanish souldiers, complained of the
to the councell of Estate: but where they thought they shoulde
haue been punished, the councell bare most with them, although
for the further abusing of the said Estates, they were by the saide
councell proclaimed rebels against his maiestie and the lowe
countries, without setting any other order in the matter, which
caused a generall reuolt of all the low countries, & an vnion of
Holland and Zealand, with the rest of the prouinces, as more at
large shalbe set forth in the fourth booke of these histories.

The Spaniards
proclaimed re-
bels.

The ende of the third booke.



THE FOVRTH BOOKE^I
of the Histories of Troubles, wherein
shall bee set forth the vtter Renolte of all
the lowe Countries, and the vniou
of the Estates, with Holland and Zea-
land, and many other thynge
thereon ensuyng.



Now, the Estates of Brabant, as in the Booke next before hath bene declared, beyng not well pleased with the iniurious dealing of the Spanyards, and the little care that the Counsell of Estate had: certaine of the Prelattes therefore sett doune a decree the 4. of September 1576. that the Lorde of Heze Captaine of the Citie of Bruxelles, and Glymes, with the ayde of the Citezens, should apprehende the Counsell when thei were altogether at the Court, and be taken as Prisoners by the Estates of Brabant: whiche thynge was executed, but especially vpon those whiche were suspected to be Enemies to their Countrie, & supporters of the Spanyards: as namely, the Countes of Haussfield and Barlmunt, the Counsellour Astonuile, and the Secretaries Bertp and Schaberge, who were lead all prisoners together.

When these men were thus apprehended, Monsier, the Duke of Aniove the sunne of Fraunce, and onely brother to the Kyng, beyng required by certaine persons of aucthoritie, in the name of the Estates of Brabant, that it would please hym to accept and receiue them into his protection, against the tyrannie of the Spanyardes, which in deede he did, and to that ende made preparation for the Warres, verely myndyng to aide them. And in the meane while, the Estates aforesaid of Brabant, greatly solycited the rest of the Princes of the lowe Countries, to ioyne with them, for the driving and beating out of the Spanyardes, and other forraigne and straunge Souldiers, from out of the said Countries. And the first whiche ioyned with them were Day-

The Counsell of Estate made prisoners.

The Duke of Aniove entreated to the state of Brabant on

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naulcers, by the aduise and counsell of the Renneberge, and the Barron Frezin. Thei of Flaunders, Lyle, Doway, Artois, and the rest of the Prouinces ioynd likewise with them, and treated together of an euerlastyng vniou.

Now as the Spanyarden traueiled this waie and that, in the Countrie of Brabant, committynge many wronges, Glymes was sent with certaine Ensignes, and about sixe hundred Horse in poste to surpise the Spanyarden, whiche laie betweene Louaine and Dielmunt: Now bee it, the Spanyarden put hym to flight, where was slaine the Captaine of Delft, who so valiantly defended hymself with his Souldiers, as that this victorie cost the Spanyarden the settynge on.

**The tyranny
of the Span-
yarden at
Mastricht.**

Some after the Spanyarden went towards Mastricht, where through the vnfaithfull dealing and cowardise of the Almaines, thei entred, who shewed them selues, the very slaues to the Spanyarden tyrannie, forgettyng the auncient honour of the name Almaine: whiche tyme the Spanyarden sacked, and accordyng to their olde maner of dealing, committed all tyrannie and vllanie.

**The sacking
and massacre
of Antwerpe**

In the ende of October, Monsier Champagny, beyng Gouernour of the Citie of Antwerpe, agreed with the Estates, and so did likewise the Count Duerseine with his Almaines, and thereupon the Estates sent thether, the Marques of Hawze, Count Egmont, and Monsier Beercele with a iollie companie of Souldiers, for preservation and defence of the saied Citie, against the force of the Spanyarden then liyng in the Castle. But when Sacho of Auila Captaine of the saied Castle, had sent for the Spanyarden whiche laie at Aloft and Mastricht, and were all gotten together into the same strength: the 4. of Nouember 1576. thei in great furie set vpon the Towne, where the Citezens did the best thei could to preserve it: But what through the cowardise of the Almaines, and the treason of Cornelius Canepnd, who laie in the Towne with fower Ensignes of Almaines, as also by reason of the wilfull negligence of the Leaders: in the ende, the flowze of all the Citie in Europe was sacked, a greate number murdered, and the triumphant Towne house set on fire, whereupon euery quarter rounde about it was dissolued into ashes, so that an inestimable treasure of all kinde of Marchaundise was

was therein consumed, ouer and besides the horrible and greuous villanies committed, bothe by the Spanyardes and traitorous Almaines.

Whiche horrible dealyng, when the Estates of the 15. Provinces already united, vnderstood, who right well knew to their cost, the Spanyardes olde canckred malice towardes the lowe Countries, treated a peace with the Prince of Orange, and the Estates of Holland and Zeeland, the 8. of Nouember 1576. at the Citie of Gant, the Copie of whiche pacification ensueth.

Phillip, by the grace of God, King of Castile, Leon, Arragon, Nauarre, Naples, Sicile, Maiorque, Sardaigne, of the Isles, Indians, and firme lande of the Ocean Sea: Arch Duke of Austrie, Duke of Burgonie, Lothier, Brabant, Limbrough, Luxembrough, Gelderland, & Hylaine: Count of Harlsbrough, Flanders, Artois, Burgonie, Palatine, and Haynault, Holland, Zeeland, Namure, and Furphen: Prince of Suane, Marques of the holy Empire, Lord of Friseland, Salines, Halines, of the Citie, Cities, and Countrie of Utricht, Transsilolaine, and Groening: Gouvernour and chiefe Ruler in Asia and Affrique: To all those to whom these presentes shall come to bee seene or heard, Greeting. For so muche as the generall Estates beyng assembled in this our Citie of Bruxelles, haue shewed vnto our deare and welbeloued Subiectes of our Counsell of Estate, by vs deputed to the generall gouernement of our lowe Countries, as it is amongst the deputies of the Prelates, Nobles, Cities and Members of Brabant, Flanders, Artois, Haynault, Valencian, Lyle, Doway, and Dyche, Namure, Cournay, Cournessy, Utricht, and Halines, representing the Estates of the said Countries: and the Deputies of the Prince of Orange, and Estates and Cities of Holland and Zeeland, and their Associates, respectiuelly on either side deputed, hauyng made and set doune a certaine treatie of pacification, haue required the parties aforesaid, to make Letters Pattentes thereof vnder our name and seale, with and insertion of the procurations of the said Deputies, and there withall a clause or prouiso, that all the Subiectes of the Countries in the said pacification comprised, shalbe bound to obserue the same in euery point and condition. And besides, to commaund and charge all Gouvernours, Presidents, Counsellors,

The pacification of Gant.

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and Magistrates of our Countries, to proclaim the saied pacification: of which treatise, the content thereof, with the saied procurations, hereafter ensue.

To all men to whom these presentes shall come, to be seene, heard, or read, Greetyng. For so muche as the Countries here about, these nine or tenne yeares now last past, through the ciuill Warres, the proude and cruell gouernement, loosenesse of life, and suche other like disorders of the Spanyardes and their adherentes, are fallen into greate miserie and calamitie: for the preuenting whereof, and also for the ceasing of all other further troubles, oppressions, and miseries of the saied Countries, by the meanes of some sure peace and pacification to be had: there were in Februarie, in the yeare 1574. deputed, and assembled at Breda, the Commissaries of his Maiestie, of the Prince of Orange, and of the Estates of Holland and Zealand, & of their Associates: by whom were propounded diuers meanes and offers, greatly seruyng for the setting forward of the saied pacification, and yet for all that, there followed not thereof, the fruite that was looked and hoped for, but contrariwise, whiles thei looked and hoped for comforte, and meanes, from his Maiesties benignitie, the saied Spanyardes daely went on in oppressyng and spoilyng, thereby to byng the poore Subiectes into perpetuall bondage, and flauerie, threathnyng Noble men, and Cities, and after a Warlike maner, inuading, sackyng and burnyng: and therefore, the Substitutes proclaimed them Enemies to his Maiestie and the common weale. And the Estates here about were enforced, by the leaue of the saied Substitutes, to take Armes vpon them, for the preuentyng of a further mischiefe, or rather the vtter ruine of the whole: And that the Enhabitauntes of all these lowe Countries, beyng vnited together in a firme peace and accorde, might ioyntly drine out the saied Spanyardes and their adherentes, disturbers of the Countries, and reduce them vnto the forme and manner of their olde and auncient Lawes, Priuiledges, Customes, and Liberties, whereby the traffique and wealth might be restored vnto them againe: And for that cause, was the former meetyng of the saied Lordes Deputies of the Countries: accorpyng to the treatie of the peace begun at Breda, to the honoz of God, and seruice of his Maiestie, betweene the Lords of the Cleargie, the

the Nobilitie, Cities, and Members of Brabant, Flanders, Artois, Haynault, Valencien, Lysle, Doway, and Orchies, Namure, Courmay, Courmesy, Arright, and Malines, representing the Estates of the saied Countries: And the Prince of Orange, the Estates and Cities of Holland and Zealand, and their Associates, by the Commissaries of either side, respectiuey deputed: To witt, the Reuerend Father Dan Ihon of Lynden, Abbot of Saint Gertrude in Louuaine, Dan Gislain, Abbott of Saint Peters in Gant, Dan Mathewe, Abbot of Saint Gislain chosen Bishop of Arras, Lord Ihon of Mole, Maister of Octingue, Maister Frances Alewin, Maister of Sueuegem, Gouvernour and Captaine of Audenerde, and Commissarie for the remuyng of the Magistrates in Flanders, Maister Charles Gauré, Lord of Frezin, Knightes: Maister Elbert Leonine Doctor of the law, and professor in y^e Uniuerlite of Louvain: Maister Peter Beure, Counsellor to his Maiestie, in his Counsell in Flanders, and Maister Quintin Pietz high Sherife of Mons in Haynault, with Ihon de Penants, a Counsellor also and Maister of his Maiesties Chamber of Accomptes in Brabant: The honorable Secretarie on the behalfe of the saied Estates of Brabant, Flanders, Artois, Haynault, &c. And Maister Phillip Harnix Maister of Saint Aldegond, Arnold Thorpe, Maister of Teemlick: William Zuilen of Newfelde, Maister of Heerartbergue Esquire: Maister Adrian Hyle, Doctor of the Lawes, and one of his Excellencies Counsell, and also of the Prouinciall Counsell of Holland: Maister Cornelius Kyng, a practizer of the Lawes, and an other of his Excellencies Counsell: Maister Paule Buys an Aduocate of Holland: Maister Peter Riche, Baylife of Flushing: Anthony Sickell, Counsellor of Zealand, and Adrian Wong, Burrough maister of Middlebrough, for the saied Prince, the Estates of Holland, Zealand, and their Associates, accordyng to the tenure of their Commission, inserted at the ende of this present Treatie made and established: Wherein is concluded betweene the parties aforesaid, an everlastyng and firme peace, Confederacie, and Union, vppon the conditions hereafter ensuyng.

First, that all offences, iniuries, faultes, and damages, committed by reason of the troubles, betweene the Inhabitauntes

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comprised within this present Treatie, or in what sorte soeuer, shall be pardoned, forgotten, and taken as though thei had neuer beene, so that no mention hereafter shall euer bee made of those matters, or yet any man accused about them.

2 The saied Estates of Brabant, Flanders, Artois, Haynault, &c. and also the Prince: The Estates of Holland, Zealand, and their Associates: doe without hypocrisie and in truthe, accordingly promise hereafter to obserue, and cause all the rest of the Countries to performe and keepe a firme and inuiofable amitie and peace: and likewise at all suche tyme and tymes as occasion shall serue, to helpe one an other, both with their counsell, deede, bodies, and goodes: but especially for the dringng and keepng out of all Spanyardes and foraine Souldiers, from the Lowe Countries, who with teeth and nalle haue gone about contrarie to all lawe and equitie, to put to death all the Loydes and Noble men, because thei them selues would haue holde, occupie, and enioye the riches and wealthe of the foresaied Countries, and besides would reduice, and byng the people into perpetuall slaue-rie. And therefore, that thei would both for that, and for all other matters, to be furnished with all thynges necessarie for the withstanding of as many, as would in deede take vpon them, to oppose them selues against the saied Confederates and Allies, promising to be alwaies readie to yeeld vnto all necessarie and reasonable contributions and impositions.

3 It is ouer and besides agreed, that soone after that the said Spanyardes and their Adherentes shall be departed, and that all thynges shall be at quiet and in safetie, either partie shall be bound to procure, and that very speedely and carefully, a conuocation and assemble of the generall Estates, in suche maner and forme as it was in that tyme, whereas Charles the last Emperour, of most famous memorie, graunted and assigned ouer, these Lowe Countries into the handes of his Maiestie our soueraigne and redoubted Loyde, for the orderng of the Affaires of the Lowe Countries both generally and particularly, aswell in the matter and exercise of Religion, in Holland, Zealand, Bommell, and other places their Associates, as also for restitution of the Fortes, greate Ordnance, Shippes, and other thynges appertainng to his Maiestie, by the saied Hollanders, and Zealanders taken during

buryng the saied troubles, or otherwise, as to the seruice of his Maiestie, the prosperitie and vnitie of the Countries shall appertaine: where, neither on the one side or yet on the other, shall be any moze contradiction, lett, or delaie, in respect of the ordinaunces, sentences, and resolutions, whiche there were made and ordained, then for the execution of them what soeuer: whereunto the parties aforesaid fully and wholly, haue in truthe submitted them selues.

4 That the Enhabitauntes bothe on the one side and on the other, of what Countrie soeuer hereabout, or of what estate, qualitie, or condition soeuer thei bee: maie notwithstanding, frequent, and also come, tarrie, and traffique here, bothe freely and safely in the trade of Marchaundize, or otherwise. Provided alwaies, that it shall not bee lawfull nor tollerable, for the Hollanders, Zealanders, or any other, of what Countrie, condition, and qualitie soeuer thei bee, to attempt hereabout, out of the saied Countries of Holland, Zeeland, and the places their Associates, against the common quiet and peace, especially against the Catholique Romishe Religion, and exercise thereof, to wrong, or stirre vp either in worde or deede: neither yet by any suche like meane giue offence, vppon paine to be punished as a disturber of the common quiet, to the example of all others.

5 To the ende, that no man in the meane while, might vpon the suddaine bee ouertaken, or come within daunger: It is further agreed, that all the Commissions heretofore made and published as touchyng Heresie, together the ordinaunces vpon life and death made by the Duke of Alua, with the pursute and execution of them, shall surcease, vntill suche tyme as the generall Estates shall therein, haue taken other order. Alwaies provided, that there be no offence giuen, as before hath been saied.

6 That the Prince shall continue Lorde Admirall, and his Maiesties Liutenauit of Hollande, Zeelande, Bommell, and others their Associates, and be all at his commaundement, as presently it is, with all the self and same Iustices, Officers and Magistrates, and no waie to be chaunged, without his will and consent: and the same also to stande through all the Cities, Townes, and places whiche his Excellencie presently holdeth, vntill suche tyme as the generall Estates, after the departure of the Span-

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yardes, shall set some other order therein.

7 That as concernyng the Townes and places comprised within his Maiesties Commission, by hym receiued, whiche are not now at the commaundement, and vnder the obedience of his Excellencie: Shall in that point surcease, vntill suche tyme as the saied Townes and places haupyng ioynded them selues with the rest of the Estates in this vnion and accorde, his Excellencie shall haue satisfied them in all suche pointes, as thei could iustly finde them selues agreed, and in whiles he gouerned, deminished, whether it were in respect of the exercise of Religion, or otherwise, aswell to the end, that the Prouinces might not be dismembred, as also for the auoidyng of discorde and dissention.

8 That in the meane tyme, no Commissions, Proclimations, Collerations nor exploites of the saied Countries, vnder the saied Prince his Gouernement, shall take any place, other then suche as shall by his Excellencie, or his Counsell, be decreed and allowed, either els by the Magistrates or Officers there appointed, and those also to bee suche, as shall in no case in tyme to come, bee preiudiciall to the iurisdiction of his Maiesties greate Counsell.

9 It is also conditioned, that all men which haue been taken Prisoners, by reason of the troubles passed, namely the Count Bossu, shall bee sett free without any Raunsome, saue onely the charges of the Prison, although the Raunsomes (before the date of these presentes) were paid, or agreed vpon to be paid.

10 It is mozeouer couenanted and agreed, that the said Prince and all the rest of the Nobilitie, Knights, perticuler Gentlemen, and Subiectes, of what estate, qualitie, or condition soeuer they bee, together their endowed Widowes, Children, and Enheritours, shall mutually be restored, as if thei had neuer been attained, and repossesse all their Landes and Possessions, Gooddes, Prerogatiues, Actions and Debtes, which are not solde, in suche maner and condition, as the aforesaid thynges presently are, and to this effect therefore, are all defaultes, Rebellions, Arrests, Sentences, Seisures, and Executions, which haue been graunted and made, from the begynnynge of the troubles in the yeare 1566, aswell concernyng the cause of Religion, as also for the takyng of Armes, and what soeuer ensued thereon, made utterly voyde

boyde and of none effect. And the same, with all their Actes and Attitutes, drawne and set doune in writyng, shall be made boyde and razed out of their Registers, without it be needefull for the takyng of some other Instructions, or els for the obtainyng of some other tolleracion then this present Treatie. Neuerthelesse, what soeuer Incorporation, Rightes, Customes, Priuiledges, Prescriptions, aswell Legale, Conuentionale, Customary, as Locale: nor yet any other exceptions what soeuer to the contrarie, whiche herein, or in any other matters els, concernyng the saied troubles, shall bee boyde and of none effect, as beyng thynghes (if neede were) hereunto especially derogatorie, neither is a settled lawe any generall derogation, without there bee some former mention thereof made.

11 It is alwaies prouided, that herein shall bee comprised, for the enioyng of this present benefite, the right honorable Ladie, now wife to the right noble Count Palatine of the Rhine, Elector, sometyme the Lord of Brederede his Widow, so farre forthe as concerneth the Countrie of Wyane, and the rest of the Goodes and Possessions there, wherein the saied Countesse Palatine, or any other that taketh her cause in hand, maie haue lawe and Justice.

12 There shall likewise herein be comprised the Count Buren, so farre forth as toucheth the Citie and Castle of the Countrie of Buren, and the same inioye, as his owne proper Gooddes and Possessions, after that the Garnison is displaced.

13 All the Pillers, Trophees, Inscriptions, and other Monumentes, whiche the Duke of Alua caused most dishonorably and shamefully to bee erected and set vp, aswell of the thynghes aforesaid, as of what soeuer thynge els, shall be defaced and utterly destroyed.

14 As concerning the commodities of the Lordshippes and Possessions aforesaid: the Arrerages, and Reuenues of Dowries, Rent, Victuall, House rent, aswell the Ryng, Countrie, Cities and Townes, as also all other thynghes what soeuer before the date of this presentes, and yet neither paid, nor receiued by his Maiestie, or haupng his Action, euery man maie receiue his owne Goodes and rentes, and quietly enioye them.

15 Prouided alwaies, that what soeuer of the saied Landes,

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Reuenues,

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Reuenues, Rentes, or Goodes hath beene escheated since the Feast of Ihon Baptist last past in the yeare 1576. shall remaine and be answerable to the behoofe of him to whom it belongeth: not withstanding, that the receiuer fiscall, or any other, haue received any of the reuenues of those Lands, Rentes and Goodes, whereupon in suche a case, a restitution shall be made.

16 That if so be his Maiestie shall haue for certaine yeares, taken, or els giuen vnto him any of the said House rents, or other reuenues, vnder the title of confiscation, that euery man shall for those yeares, bee holden as franke and free, and acquitted of all charges reall, and rentes, goyng out of his Possessions, and shall bee also at all tymes franke and free, and acquitted of all Rentes, wherewith the Landes and Possessions are charged, whiche thei could not quietly enioye by reason of the troubles past, and according to the full rate of the tyme of the saied Estoppell, whiche thei could enioye because of the occasion aforesaid, that then so sell out.

17 And as for moueable Goodes, and all suche shorthe endes whiche were on either side robbed, solde, or other wise chopped and chaunged, that no man looke for any recompence of them.

18 And as for the immouable Goodes: as Houses, Rentes, and Reuenues, whiche vnder the title of confiscation, are solde, or chopped, and chaunged: the generall Estates shall appoint some of the saied Estates in euery Province, to be Commissioners, to examine the saied Controuerlies, if any suche bee, and prouide, that reasonable satisfaction bee made aswell to suche, to whom those thynges of right appertained, as also to the buyers and sellers of the Possessions and Rentes aforesaid, in respect of their euiction.

19 The like also shall be doen about the Arerages of rents, and Obligations, Personalles, and all other pretenses and plaines, whiche the Losers on either side, by reason of the troubles, would bying in and conuence, in what maner soeuer.

20 That all Prelates, and all other Ecclesiasticall parsons, whose Abbaies, Monasteries, Foundations, and Residentships, whiche lye without the Countries of Holland and Zealand, and yet haue their Possessions and Goodes in the saied Countries, shall enter into the propriety and enioying of their saied goodes

AND

and Possessions, as heretofore they had doen, as if they were secular.

21 But as touchyng the Cloysterers, and suche ocher like Church men, whiche are in the saied Prouinces and their Associates, professed, or Prebenders, and haue absented them selues, or gone awaie from thence, by reason that the greater parte of their goodes and possessions are taken from them: To these shall from hencefoorth be allowed a reasonable portion to liue by, with those that remaine, or otherwise, thei shall be permitted to enioye their Possessions: How be it at the appointment of the Estates, altogether by waie of tolleration, and untill suche tyme as vppon their further pretence, it shall bee otherwise appointed by the generall Estates.

22 It is also mozeouer agreed: that all Grauntes, Exhereditations, and other disposed goodes, Interviuos, vel causa mortis, made and graunted by perticuler and priuate persones, by whom the true enheritozs, either by reason of the troubles, or of the Religion, are disturbed, made no bodies, or vtterly disherited of their due succession, shall by vertue of these pzelentes, be voyde and of none effect.

23 And whereas the Hollanders and Zealanders for the better desfrainyng of the charge of the Warres, haue set on hie price of euery peece of Golde and Siluer, then the rest of the Prouinces can allowe of, without losse: It is conditioned, that the deputies of the generall Estates, so sone as thei can possible, shall take aduise, for the setting in of a generall foote thereto, to the ende that the saied money might runne as egally as could bee, for the maintenaunce of this vnion, and the mutuall entercourse of Marchaundise.

24 Mozeouer, to the ende that vppon the supplication made by the Deputies of Holland and Zeeland, all the lowe Countries in generall might bee charged with all the debtes, whiche the Prince hath contracted for, about the makyng of the two expeditions, wherinto, bothe the Hollanders and Zealanders, and the Prouinces and Cities whiche yeeled them selues vnto the last expedition, were bounde, as thei saied, the same point is left vnto the discretion and decidyng of the said generall Estates, wherein when all thynges shall be appaied, suche a repoyte or declaration shall

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shall therein bee made, as that a meete and conuenient regarde shall be had about the same.

25 And in this common accorde and pacification, the Countreies, Seigniories, Lordshippes, and Cities, whiche are on the contrarie parte, are cleane exempt from the enioyng of this benefite, vntill suche tyme as thei haue in deede, conioyned themselves with this confederacie, whiche, when it please thei thei maie doe.

Whiche treatie and pacification accordyng to the relation, agreement and truste, as well of the Lordes, who haue the gouernement of the Countrey committed vnto them, as also of the Estates themselves, together of the Prince, Estates of Hollande and Zeelande, and their associates, in all the pointes and Articles aforesaid, and withall, what soeuer by the generall Estates in that whiche hath been said, and others, shall be decreed and ordeined: The said Deputies, haue by vertue of their Commission and authoritie promised and swozne, and by their presentes, dooe promise and sweare, inuolably to obserue, keepe and accomplishe, and mutually cause euery parte and parcell of them, respectiue to be ratified, swozne vnto, subscribed and sealed, by the Prelates Nobilitie, Cities, and other members of the said Countreies, especially by the foresaid Prince, as well generally as particularly, and that within one moneth next ensuyng, to the contentation of all men. In witnesse whereof, the said Deputies to this present Treatie haue sette to their handes, in the Sherief house of Gant the 18. of Nouember. 1576.

By

Ihon Lynden Abbot of Saint Gertrude, Gislaine, Abbot of Saint Peters, Frauncis Mathewe, Abbot of saint Gislaine &c. Ihon Mole, Frauncis Alewyn, Charles Gaure, Elbert Leonyne, Q. Predt, P. Bencro, Philip Marnix, Arnold Thorpe, W. Zuilen of Newfild, A. Myle, Peter, Ritche, Ihon King, P. Buys, and Androwe Zickelen the yonger.

*I beeyng present
Ihon de Penants.*

The

*The Commission of the
Generall Estates.*



The Prelates, Nobilitie and Cities, representyng the Countreys hereabout, and presently assembled at the Citie of Bruxelles, To all to whom these presentes shall come to be seen, Greeting. Where long agoe the Prince of Orange, with the Hollanders and Zealanders, were determined and fully resolved to entre into communication, with the Commissioners of our Soueraigne Lorde the Kyng, and that about the moneth of Februarie in the yere 1574. accordyng to the auncient order of Brabant, The saied Commissioners of his Maiestie mette at Breda, with the saied Princes Deputies, together with the Hollanders and Zealanders their adherentes, and associates, and holde there many meetynges and treaties, about the case of pacification, and yet not withstandyng the same tooke none effect, to the no small griefe of the saied Estates: Consideryng the long miseries, pouertie, and afflictions of the saied Countreys, and because, it is a thyng necessarie, to auoide the vtter ruine and destruction of all the saied Countreys: It is thought necessarie, for the speedy redresse thereof, that thei should againe enter into communication, and proceede vnto the saied pacification: Be it knowne, that we, hauyng regarde to the so extream and vtterly desolated Countreys aforesaid, and beynge also verie desirous to redresse, and byyng againe the inhabitants hereaboutes, to peace and quietnesse, that thei might thereby liue, in all wealth and prosperitie, as heretofore thei were long sithens wonted: and vsyng the best and fittest meanes that maie bee, for the causyng of all troubles, diuisions, and Ciuile warres to cease, to Gods glorie, and his Maiesties, and the common weale of the saied Countreys: haue deputed and substituted, and by these presentes dooe depute and substitute, for the continuance and affectuall byynging to passe, of the aforesaid communication & pacification. The right reuerent father in God, Thon Lynde, Abbot of Sainte Gertrude in Louwayne, Dan Gislain Symmerman, Abbot of Saint Peters in Gant, or in his steede Dan Bucha Aytz, Archbishop of Pyres, Dan Hathewe, Abbot
of

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of Sainct Gyslaine, chosen Bishop of Arras, The right worshipfull Thon de Holl, maister Detingue, maister Francis Alewyn, maister Sueuegem, maister Charles de Gaure, maister de Frezin knightes, maister Elbert Leonyne, Doctor & professor of the Lawes in the Uniuersitie of Louayne, maister Peter de Beuere, or maister Toest Housleman, Counsellor in Flanders, and maister Quintin Depyat high Sherief of Hons in Hainault, with suche a Secretarie as thei shall name and appoint: All which together, or to sixe of the we haue giuen & graunted, and by these presents, both perticulerly & generally doe giue and graunt, full power and aucthoritie to meete with the Deputies of the saied Prince, of the Hollanders and Sealanders, their Adherentes and associates, at the Citie of Sant, the 12. of this moneth of October, to procede forwarde in the saied Communication and Pacification, according to those pointes and orders already propounded, or others, that maie hereafter be propounded, generally and especially, about that whiche before hath been spoken of, and thereon doeth depēd, and to speake and dooe whatsoeuer thei shall thinke to bee conuenient, especially for the assuring, and agreeing, of all controuersies, that maie bee propounded, for the finishing of a pacification, and publicke peace, promising if neede bee, to giue them more large aucthoritie, for the due and true bringing of the same effectually to passe. And wee further, in truthe and faithfully doe promise, and bothe for the present, and hereafter, do binde our selues, our Successours, in all that wee are worthe, bothe generally and perticulerly: Doe holde for firme and effectuall for euer, in every point and pointes, all suche articles as the saied Commissioners, or sixe of them, shall in our behalves consent & agree vnto, and the same to ratifie, and inuiolably keepe and accomplish, without for euer, directly or indirectly to crosse, the same, in maner whatsoeuer. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused to bee set the seale of the Estates of Brabant, in the name, and at the request of all the rest of the Estates: Given at the said Citie of Bruxelles the 10. of October. 1576. And vnderneath was written and subscribed, at the expresse commaundement of the Deputies of the Estates of the lowe Countreis assembled at Bruxelles, *Cornelius Weekemans*. And the said Commission was sealed with the greate seale of the saied Estates of Brabant in redde Claxe, vppon a double Labell hangyng

hangyng thereat.

*The Commission of the Deputies of the
Prince of Orenge, and of the Estates of
Hollande and Sealande.*



WE Willm by the grace of GOD, Prince of Orenge, Count of Nassou, Catsenelleboghe, Uian- den, Diets, Buren, Lerdam &c. Lorde and Baron of Breda, Drest, Grimberge, Arlay, Nozeron &c. Vicount of Antwerpe and Bpsanton:

The Commission of the Deputies of the Prince of Orenge.

Lieutenaunt and Captaine Generall, of Hollande, Sealande, West Friselande, Utricht, together the Knightes, Nobilitie and Cities of Hollande and Sealande, doe by these presentes let all the worlde vnderstande: That where it hath pleased almighty God of his singuler fauour and grace, to offer occasions and meanes, whereby the lowe Countreys, Cities, and inhabitauntes thereof, whiche through the Spanyardes, and their Tyrannous gouernement, for certaine yeres euen vnto this present, haue been miserably troubled with dissentions, and ciuill warres, might haue been brought to naught, and vtterly destroyed, and be againe restored to the auncient libertie, traffique and wealth, amongest the Commons and Subiectes of the saied Countreys, and also that the saied Countreys might from henceforth bee established in their rightes, libertie, and wealth, to the honour of God, the seruice of his Maiestie, and the rest and prosperitie of the inhabitauntes of these Countreys, wherevnto all good subiectes and louers of their Countrey, of very right offer them selues, and the rather shewe them selues readie, because all the worlde knoweth, of the peruerse counsaill and deuile of the saied Spanyardes and their Adherentes, as tending, after the long pacience of their insupportable outrage, in the ende to the vtter ruine, destruction, and sclauerie of all the Prouinces of the lowe Countreys, and the faithfull inhabitauntes of the same, wherevnto it was apparaunt they would come, had it not been, that some other conuenient remedie, aboue all other thinges, in tyme had bene provided, and that cheefly by the common power and agreement of
all

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all the lowe Countreys, for the departure, and driuyng awaie of the Spanyardes and their Adherentes, and that after certaine leuyng warnynges and admonitions by his excellencie, and the saied Estates of Hollande and Sealande, giuen to that ende, vnto the rest of the Prouinces of the saied lowe Countreys, sempyng to be thereto enclined, and altogether affected, so that for the aduancement of the benefite, quiet, and vnitie of the saied Lowe Countreys, his Excellencie, and the Estates aforesaid agreed on either side to meete, and entre into communication together, about the same: when his Excellencie and the Estates of Hollande and Sealande were agreed, and withall had ioynd and strengthened them selues together in this matter for the Bommeliens, and all the reste of their associates: For the sendyng, to this ende and purpose, their Deputies, at a certaine daie, to Sant: And therefore, for this cause, his Excellencie, together the Estates of Hollande and Sealande, haue substituted, and by these presentes doe substitute, The noble, honourable and good Lorde, Phillip de Warrin, Maister saint Aldegonde, Arnold Thorpe, Willelmus Zuilen of Newfield, Adrian Hyle, Cornelius Kyng, Adrian the yonger, in the behalfe and name of his Excellencie and the Estates, to be all together, or the greater parte of them at the said conference, in the Citie of Sant, and with the saied Estates, and the rest of the Prouinces of the lowe Countreys, or their lawfull Deputies beyng there present, to treate, aduise, and conclude, vpon whatsoeuer maie best serue for the setting forwarde of the peace, Amitie, and Vnitie, of the saied lowe Countreys, and the inhabitants of the same, hauyng alwaies a regard to the former speeches and honest offer, oftentymes by his Excellencie, and the said Estates of Hollande and Sealande, and their associates, but especially to the last treatie of peace, with the Kynges Deputies at Breda, and to that whiche there, vpon the matter of pacification, might haue been treated of and made: wherupon the said Deputies might proceade further on, if thei thought it requisite or necessarie. Giuyng and grauntynge vnto the saied Substitutes, or to the moze parte of them, full aucthoritie, and also, generall and especiall Commission, to accorde and agree with the saied Estates, and the rest of the Prouinces, about whatsoeuer thei shal find to be any waye profitable, and for the furtheraunce and saffetie of

the Common wealth, but especially for the resistyng, weakening and drying out of the saied Spanyardes, as common enemies to the Countrey, and common quiet thereof: and to the same ende also, binde them selues with the rest of the prouinces, vnder suche reasonable conditions and articles, as maie be godlie and honourable, for the repose, and wealth of the Countrey: His Excellencie, and the Estates of Holland and Sealande aforesaid, promissyng vpon their fidelitie and honour to holde the same, as good, and effectually, and so far for the as concerneth them, irreuocable and inuolably to keepe whatsoeuer their saied Deputies, as before is mentioned, and in that whiche hath been before saied, shall treat of, without crosseing, or sufferiing the same to be crossed, directly, or indrectly, bindyng them selues, their gooddes, and generally all the inhabitauntes bothe of Holland and Sealande, and their associates, by these presentes, bothe for this tyme, and the tyme to come, without exception of any. In witnesse whereof, his Excellencie, and the saied Estates of Holland and Sealand, to these presentes haue Subscribed, and for confirmation thereof, put to their seales. Given at Middlebrough the 12. of October, and at Delft, the 14. of September in the yere 1576. Subscribed by *Willyam of Nassou.*

And by the especiall commaundement of the Estates of Holland, subscribed by *Peter Bushe.*

And by the expresse commaundement of the Estates of Sealand, subscribed by *Faymon*, and sealed with three Seales in redde Claxe at a double Labell of Parchement.

The Commission of the Secretary.



Where, about the seruice of the Lordes the Commissioners chosen by my Lords of the Estates of the Countries here about, assembled at Bruxelles, for a new entraunce into the conference of the pacification, with the Deputies of my Lord the Prince of Orange, and of the Estates of Holland and Sealand, and their Associates, it was necessarily required, that they should haue a Secretary, for the dispatchyng,

The Secretaries Commission.

Feb. 1.

signyng,

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liegnyng, and an ende takyng in their name, all the Letters, Actes, Copies, and other writings about their businesse, who, was left by my saied Lords, to bee chosen by the Commissioners aforesaid.

My saied Lordes of the Estates, haupng chosen and named, Thon de Penantes, one of our soueraigne Lorde the Kyng his Counsellours, and Maister of his Chamber of the Accomptes of Brabant, a man accordyng to their hartes desire: haue and doe by these presentes, aucthorize the saied Penantes, to make, dispatche, siegne, and autentique of knowledge, in the name and by the appointment of the saied Lords Commissioners, all Acts, Letters, Copies, Writynges, that the same might be the better beleued: and al other needefull businesse, and what soeuer in them contained, to be receiued and admitted, as thynges very true and credible. Provided alwaies, that he shall be duely sworne vnto the saied Lords Commissioners therein, accordyngly as to them shal seeme most meete. Given at Bruxelles by vertue of the Estates of Brabant, in the name, and at the request of all the rest, and siegned by their Secretary, the 13. of October 1576. and vnderneath was written: by the expresse commaundement of the saied Lordes of Estates, and subscribed by *Cornelius Weelemans*, and sealed with the priuie Seale of the saied Estates, after the manner of a Commission.

Bee it knowne vnto all men, that at the supplication and request of our saied Estates, and accordyng to the agreement and confirmation of our saied Counsell of Estate, in maner and forme as it is set doune the 5. of this present Moneth. We will and commaunde our welbeloued and faithfull chiefe Presidents, and those of our priuie Counsell, and Counsell at large: Dur Chauncellour and Counsell of Brabant: Dur Gouvernour President and Counsellors of Flaunders, and Artois, our greate Bayliefe of Haynault and Counsellors at Mons: The Prouost of Valencia, Gouvernour of Lysle, Doway, and Orchies: Dur Gouvernour, President and Counsellors at Namure: Dur Gouvernour, Bailiefe, and Counsell at Courmay: Dur Liutenaunt President and Counsaillors at Utricht, and the Sherife of Malines: That thei cause the saied Treatie of pacification, with the insertion as aforesaid, to be proclaimed, in euery of the Precinckes of
their

their Iurisdictiones, at suche place and places where thei are mounted to make their Proclamations: And the same to be obserued and kept, accordyng to the forme and tenure thereof. In witnesse whereof, wee haue hereto put our Seale. Given at our Citie of Buxelles the 13. of Nouember. 1576. And of our Realmes and Kyngdomes: to witt, of Spayne, Sicile, &c. the 21. of Naples the 23.

By the Kyng In his Counsell.
de Ouerloepē.



After that the accorde and pacification, bothe of the one side, and of the other, was concluded vpon, the Count de Reulle, Gouvernour of Flanders besieged the Castle of Gant, in the custodie of y^e Spanyardes, who hauyng gotten from my Lorde the Prince, helpe bothe of men, Artillarie, and Munition, had many daies together battered the same. Whither also came the Count de Lalayng, Generall of the Armie, in the absence of the Duke of Arscot, and the Marques of Paurech, and battered the saied Castle in twoo sundrie places. Now, when the breaches were made, and that the Spanyardes desired to come to a parle, the Colonell of the Ward, was deputed by the Lordes, to talke with them: But when as thei could not agree about their Armour and weapon, Monsire de la Motte promised the besieged, the worthe of them: wherevpon thei yeelded them selues with the sautie of their bodie and gooddes, the 11. of Nouember 1576.

Gant Castle
besieged, and
rendred.

In this meane while, the Almaines beganne to prepare them them selues to goe from Valencia, meanyng to treate of some secrete and cunnyng enterprises, and newe treasons with the Spanyardes that were in the Castle. For the meeting and crossing of whiche deuise, the Generall Estates sent thether the Count of Renneberge, Baron de Uille, Gouvernour and Capitaine general of Haynault, in the absence of Monsire de Lalayng, who, although he had but a regiment of eight Ensignes of Wal-lons, yet he so valiantly pursued the assault, as that the saied Almaines departed the Towne vpon composition the 12. of Nouember, euery Souldier hauyng a Doller to his share. And sone

Valencia,
rendred to
the Estates.

Vb. is,

after

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after, that he was entred into the Towne, he with the helpe of the honest Citizens besieged the Castle, wherein were 140. Spanpardes, whom he enforced to ycelde, and vpon composition giue ouer and leaue the place, in the moneth and yere aforesated.

The 22. of November, the Mallons whiche late in Garnison at Groening, takyng parte with the Estates, there fell a controuerlie betweene them and their Captaine Monsieur de Billy, the successe whereof, was this.

When men wisely consider and weigh the secreete iudgement of God, thei are to call to mynde the wordes of the kyngly Prophet Dauid, sayng: If the Lorde keepe not the Citie, the watch men watche in vaine. But although we daieily see many and son-drie examples thereof: yet tell there out here, the 13. of November 1576. and diuers daies after, at Groening in Friesland a most manifest example of the same. For, after that the miserable routous and bloody Spanpards, had as it were, for the space of ten yeres, vsed in all the Countreys there about, their arrogancie, tyrannie, and loose life, and had murdered, spoiled, and robbed the honest Enhabitauntes of those Countreys, deflowered their wives and daughters, and through intolerable exactions drawne vnye their great Ritches, spoiled their Trades, and Occupacions, and that which is most vile & deuillish, had driuen out of the Countrie the greater parte of the honest and godly people, and meant euen presently, to take as their owne proper inheritaunce, all the Countreys, Houses, Cities, Burroughes, Castles, Gold, Silver, and all other moueable Goodes, but especially, to bypne the men into flauerie, braggyng, and boastyng, that all the 17. Prouinces, and what soeuer was within them, was giuen them for a spoyle: Yet it so fel out now, as that the almightie God of his grace and mercie, had so opened the eyes of some of the Estates, as that thei would no longer abide their ouer greate loosenesse, tyrannie, and pride, but sett them selues flatly against it. When the Spanpards, and Hispaniolized Almaines and Mallons (who were cladd with the Spanishe brutish tyrannie, loosenesse, and arrogancie, and were become Spanishe confederates) sawe this, thei iopned them selues all together in Brabant, at Antwerpe, Lier, Gastright, and certaine other places, to the intent to put the Estates of the Countrie in feare, and sow dissention amongst them.

Neuer.

The Spanpards imagine them selues to bee maisters of the lowe Countreys.

The Spanishe Soldiers assemble them selues in Brabant.

Neuerthelesse, when thei in the ende sawe, that all this their hel-
lishe pollicie auailed them nothpyng, thei vomited out, all their co-
uetousnesse and tyzannie vpon the Citie of Antwerpe, where, the
greatest parte of the Treasure and riches of all the lowe Coun-
treis, laye, besides the inestimable Treasure that the Almaines,
Frenche, Englishe, Italians, Spanishe, and Easterlyng Har-
chauntes had there, committynge there, a most cruell & shamefull
murder, & tooke awaie so muche wealth, as that thei did his Ma-
iestie, so greate hurt in his Low countreis thereby, as that all the
seruice whiche thei shall doe hym these twentie yeres, will neuer
be able to counteruaille againe. Whiche example, Colonell Jas-
per de Robles, Gouvernour of Groenynge, and of Westfreselande,
presumynge vppon, and thinkynge that no man durst withstande
him, thought to followe: And first he began at the towne of Groe-
nyng, and after ward, proceeded in the same Countrey of Groe-
nyng, and West Freselande, where he committed the like mur-
der, with burnynge and spoilyng, and to that ende entred into the
Citie of Groenynge: Howbeit the good and mercifull Lorde, loo-
kyng vpon the saied Towne of Groenynge, with the eyes of his
mercie and grace, merueilously and mercifully deliuered the Ci-
tezeins and Enhabitauntes thereof, and stopped the tyranous
Arrogancie and deuise of the saied Colonell, as hereafter shall
bee declared.

The saied Jasper de Robles Lorde of Billy, caused an othe
of fidelitie to be ministred to Ferdinando Lopes, and other Cap-
taines, as Monceau, and Champi, and also to their Seriauntes,
Corporalles and Officers, by whiche othe, he would haue them
sworne to hym, in the name of his Maiestie, to be for the space of
thre monethes, good and faithfull, aboute whatsoeuer businesse
he should employe them: And saied, that he would in the meane
while, sende into Spaine to his Maiestie, to knowe whether it
were his highnesse pleasure and will or not, That the Countreis
and Cities should growe to an attonement with the Prince of
Orange: And that if it were so his Maiesties will, that then he
would also doe, as the reste of the Countries and Cities therea-
boutes did, but yet he trusted, that in the meane tyme, he would
bee Maister of the Treasure and wealthe of all the Countrey of
Groenynge and Westfreseland, by sackynge and spoilyng of them.

Whiche othe, the saied Colonell Jasper de Robles, offered also the 23. of Nouember 1576. to Captaine Losy, by whiche he would haue hym sworne to bee faithfull vnto hym, for that helping of hym, aboute the accomplishing of whatseuer he should make him priuie vnto. Captaine Losy perceiuing the condition, to bee verie harde, about whiche he had moued hym vnto, saied, That he could not bee sworne to any suche thyng, before suche tyme as he had made his Seriauntes and Corporalles priuie of it, whiche aunswere droue the Colonell into so greate heate and Choler, as that he forthwith sent for the Seriauntes and Corporalles of Losy his companie, offering to them also the saied othe, howbeit thei had no luste to hearken vnto it neither, sayung, that thei were sworne to his Maiesties nine yeres past, whiche thei meant faithfully to keepe, vntill suche tyme as his Maiestie should haue discharged them of it: Where withall the saied Colonell was mercifully greued, and asked the Seriaunt Maior, named Gautier, what he meant to doe, giuing hym the penne in his hande, to subscribe vnto the saied othe. But the saied Seriaunt casting the penne into the fire, saied vnto hym: That he had rather dye, then he would subscribe vnto suche an othe, and so saied also the other Seriaunt and Corporall, of whiche, one of them might. Deuill. The Colonell heeing greatly moued with this aunswere, saied vnto them. Well, get you hence, I feele well enough what I must doe with you all: Thei aunswered againe, patiently perforce.

After this resolution, the foresaied two Seriauntes and Corporalles, assembled all the rest of Captaine Losy his Corporalles, and agreed that euery of theim should propounde to his Souldiers, all that the Colonell had saied, to the ende thei might thereby knowe, their entent and purpose: and then that thei would once moze assemble theim, and conclude vpon that, whiche thei meant from thenceforth to doe: whiche speeche, when the Corporalles had deliuered ouer to their Souldiers, thei aunswered all with one voice, that thei were also resolved, to make none other othe, and therefore would hazard together their bodies and liues one for an other, which aunswere, when the corporalles had made relatiō of, thei sent for the Seriauntes of Captaine Millers companie, who warded that daie, to come vnto them, to whom thei declared the wordes, whiche the Colonell had imported vnto them,

Robles people make it straunge to be sworne vnto hym.

them; and the answer which they received from their Souldiers, demaunding of them their entences, and meanyng, whereunto Captaine Uillers Seriauntes answered; that they were of the same opinion, and would live and dye with them. Then they concluded to apprehende the Colonell, and prevent hym, knowing well enough that the Colonell would not sleepe a winke, so that in case after that the watche was sette, and they separated, that he would prevent them. Wherefore, they commaunded all those Souldiers whiche went to the watche, not once any man to discharge his peece, before suche tyme as the Seriauntes and Corporalles commaunded them.

All this while, there came no sleepe in the Colonelles eye, but caused the greete Ordnance to be charged with haile shotte, and planted it in the fireare, where the Souldiers should passe to and fro to the watche: Commaunding Ferdinando Lopes, to be ready with his Souldiers in order of battaill, and forthewith, so soone as the greete Ordnance was discharged, to fall vpon Captaine Losy his Souldiers. But one of Captaine Uillers Seriauntes understanding of this deuise, aduertised Losy his Ensigne hereof, as he was marching on, to the watche: Whereupon, they marched an other waie, and as they came before the Colonell his lodging, they did not once discharge a peece, neither yet bled their accustomed reuerence to the Colonell, in so muche, that the Halster of the watche cried out unto them, to discharge their peeces, howbeit the Souldiers flakely answered, that they would not, except they were first paid for their powder and shot: vpon whiche answer, Captaine of the watche, after his old manner, would haue laid vpon the Souldiers: whiche they seeing, cried Arme, Arme, and then the Captaine of the watche fledde. Then Captaine Losy snore hymself on the breast, and said: My beloued Souldiers, dispatche now your enterpryse: whiche thing Captaine Uillers companie seeing, as they were coming from the ward, ioynded them selues with the reste, and crying out, saying: Bee of good cheare my Gallantes, for we will live and dye with you, and stand by and by, that they would helpe one another: openly shewing that they meant to apprehend the Colonell.

When Ferdinando Lopes, who was verie carefull about his businesse, sawe that the Souldiers whiche came from the ward,

Losy his companie oppose them selues against Colonell Rosbles.

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came not the woonted waie, whiche caused, that his enterprise tooke no effecte: And hearyng the greate noyse, got hym in haste to hysle, cryng out and askyng, what the matter was, thinking thereby to appaise the Souldiers: But thei so brauely halled him with Harquebouze shotte, as that he made suche speede awaie, that his hatte fell from his hed, and commyng to Ebbyngstreate where his Souldiers stoode in order of battaill, lighted from his horse, and thinkyng to haue marched on with his people to helpe the Colonell, he was no soner come with theim, to the corner of the same streate, and his Souldiers seeyng the twoo companies of Losy and Willers standyng in order of battaill, but that thei cried with a lustie courage, All whole noble mates all whole, we will with one minde and consent, take suche parte as you dooe. When Ferdinando Lopes see how this geare fell out, he ranne into a Hog stie in a Bakers house to saue himself: And his Souldiers pulde their Ensigne from the staffe, and teare it all in peeces, and ioyned with the twoo Ensignes of Losy and Willers, and sweare that thei would with al their hartes, and in very deede liue and dye with them. And after ward, thei went all together to the Colonell his lodgyng with a greate Alarme, bidding hym come out. The Colonell seeyng greatly amazed with this trouble and noyse, came to the gate, and with his hatte in his hande, saied loupngly vnto theim: O my beloued and faithfull Souldiers, content your selues, and tell me what it is that you would haue: And if it bee money, I promise you that you shall haue it within this thye daies, vsyng these and many other suche like woordes vnto them.

**Colonell
Robles made
a prisoner.**

Then saied the Souldiers vnto hym, as for our paye, we doubt not of it, but in the meane while thou shalt be our prisoner, giuyng hym many reprochfull wordes, as callyng hym vile villaine and traitour, and so lead hym to the Towne house, where customably waited the chiefe Warde: And from thence thei went to Seignior Rushbrooke his Lodgyng his Sonne in Lawe, whom thei also tooke as a prisoner, giuyng hym likewise many vile wordes. When the saied Rushbrooke sawe this disorder, he did what he could to appaise the Souldiers, sayng: O good Souldiers, and companions in Armes, I praie you bee contented, and you shall see that my Father in lawe will paie you your whole

whole dueties. How beit, all these wordes went for no payment, but caried hym on to accompanie the Colonell companie. When thei had thus doen, thei tooke also fower moe Captaines: to wit, Losy, Willers, Honcean, and Champi, and their Ensigne bearers. After this, thei went to the Brake where thei were wonted to bee tortured and corrected when thei had misused them selues, or committed any offence, and there with Harquebouze shotte and Hatchettes thei beate doune and cut in sunder the cordes and instrumentes, wherewith the Strappado was giuen them, and cariyng them to the Market place, set them on fire, and cried with a loude voyce and lustie courage.

Robles his
Captaines,
made pris-
oners.

And, God save the Prince of Orange, and the Estates.

And untill then, the Citizens were in a greate maze, fearing that suche a like mischiefe would haue fallen vpon them as fell vpon Dastright and Antwerpe, &c. But after thei had heard that noyle and out crye, their hartes were wonderfully eased and gladded.

This being doen, the Souldiers went to the Hrouosts house, or Deputie for the Estates of the lowe Countreys, named Francis Martini Stella, whom the Colonell hymself had tortured, and being hurt in his torture, remained still prisoner: And because thei could not in that heate finde the keyes of the Iron Stockes, thei with the force of an Iron barre brake them vp, and gott out his armes and legges, and lead him to the Comptroller his Lodgyng: and after thei had put a redd Scarfe about his necke, thei lead hym to the Market place, amongst all the Souldiers, where thei all sware vnto the saied Francis Martini as Deputie, and in the name of the Estates, to liue and dye with the Estates. Duer and besides all this, thei sent the saied Deputie, accompaigned with certaine Citizens in the behalfe of the Towne, and certaine in the behalfe of the Souldiers, to Bruxelles, to declare vnto the Count this Historie, requirynge some order to be set doune, vnder whiche, thei might from thence forth be gouerned.

The Deputie
of the Es-
tates deli-
uered out of
prison.

When thei had this doen, thei sent 50 Souldiers to Seignior Fascus lodgyng the Spanyarde, Colonell of Zurphen: and not findyng hym there, thei went from thence to the Couent of the Franciscanes, where thei diligently sought for hym with candles in their handes. How beit, thei could not finde hym, because

Colonell
Fascus, ap-
parelled in a
Friers
Cowele,

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he was gotten into a Friers Cowle, with beard and head shauen and shoue, and hym self with a Candle in his hande, seeking as diligently for hym self, as the Souldiers did, untill suche tyme as an other Frier, an Almaine, discouering Falscus, and pointing hym out, saied: Here is a Frier of our Order, but none of our Couent: whiche wordes, when he perceiued that the Souldiers vnderstoode not, he againe saied: Iesus est, tenete eum, that is to saie: that is the man, and therfore holde hym fast. Then thei layd holde on him, and brought him in his Friers Cowle to the Market place, where thei made an example of hym, in the sight of all the world, saiping: that thei had recovered a new Bilhoppe, vsing these and suche other like reprochfull and thoffing wordes on hym. And afterwarde, thei for that night set the Whatche, and the next morrowe, proclamation was made by the sounde of the Dromme, that whosoever had lodged and had Captaine Ferdinando Lopez, the Promost, and Captaine of the Ward, should bewaite them, vpon paine of losse bothe of bodie and goods, and his house to be set on fire. So that by this meanes, the Promost was founde, in the Chimney of the Countes house, and had to Prison, and lodged in one of the Dungeons therof. But when thei could not finde the Captaine of the Ward, thei sought for hym at the Stewes, where for the most parte he was wonted to lye: and because thei founde hym not there, thei tooke an Whore named long Alice, and binding her with their matches, faste vnto her. Thou vile baubie Dabbe, tell vs where thy housband is, vsing these and manye suche other like reprochfull wordes vnto her. Then went thei to the Frierie, where the Captaine of the Ward had lodged the night before, and asking one of the Friers for hym, thei, because he could tell them no tidings of hym, coupled hym fast to the saied Alice, and so led them bothe together through the streates for a spectacle: but because thei could get nothing out of the Frier what was become of hym, thei uncoupled hym and lett hym goe, and set the Whore amongst the vnderbores, whom thei so lately delineated with wyffe and child, as the like had not been seene many yeres before.

Falscus, by reason of his newe Habit, is made a laughing stocke to the whole world.

The Captaine of the Wardes whore, and a Frier, coupled together.

Doctor Westhorpe prisoner.

And after, that thei had like wise gotten Doctor Westhorpe: notwithstanding all the protestations that he could make to the Souldiers, willing them to haue a good regard what they

did,

did, and take good heede how thei made hym a Prisoner beyng his Dailesties seruauant: yet had thei hym to the Tauerne, and there saied vnto hym: If the Colonell be King of Spayne, then art thou in deede the King of Spaynes seruauant: other wise, thou art seruauant to a villaine, and traitour to thy Countreie: and for thy seruyng of suche a King and Daister, thou shalt receiue the like hire.

In this meane while, came the rest of the Souldiers with Ferdinando Lopes, cryng out, and sayng: we haue brought the Hangman of Groenynge, and first thei caried hym to the Towne house, and afterwarde to the Iacobin Friers, where the rest of the Captaines were kept in Prison. And the third daie, thei found the Captaine of the Ward in a Priestes Gabberdine, whom thei laied in one of the Dungeons of the Prison, to accompanie the Colonell of Groenynge and Fascus.

Ferdinando
Lopes, cal-
led the Hang-
man of Groe-
nyng.

On Mondae, came thither the companie which lay at Dam, bynggng with them their Captaine Sterke, and his Ensigne, prisoners, and marchyng by night, eutred into Groenynge the next daie in the mornynge, where the Souldiers by othe, ioyned them selues with the rest, vnto the Estates. The same very daie, the Souldiers tooke Hepsque, Lieutenant of Groenynge, and caused hym to bee guarded with fiftie Souldiers, in his owne house.

The compa-
nie whiche
laie at Dam,
ioyne with
them of
Groenynge.

Upon Tewe daie at night when the Watche was sett, the Souldiers of Delftes Iste came to Groenynge, and brought their Captaine Barnicourt and his Ensignes Prisoners. The same daie, came twoo Franciscanes to demaunde of the Lieutenant, the Coule whiche Fascus ware, when he was taken: the Lieutenant answered, that he had nothyng to saie to the matter. Wherevpon, thei went to the Souldiers, who answered the Friers, that the Coule was where it muste remaine, for q thei, we dare not once laye handes vpon so holie a thyng: and besides, that the confession of the Colonell and the rest was to bee heard, and shoulde goe to Bruxelles with the saied Coule.

The Fran-
ciscanes call
againe for
Fascus his
Friers weed

On Wednes daie, came a messenger from the Lieutenant to the Towne Clarke, callng for a Passeport, that he might goe out of the Towne, whiche made the Towne Clarke suspecte the matter: wherefoze he was taken, and beyng examined, lecret let-
ters

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ters were found about hym, from the Lieutenant Depsque, conteynyng many secret thinges of greate importaunce.

This beynge doen, there was a staie made of all thynges, vntill the retourne of those, whiche were sent to Bruxelles, for the doyng of all matters accordyngly, as the Estates should finde to be necessarie for the peace and quiet of the Countrey.

The Count of Renneberge, cometh into Friselande. When the Estates had set an order about these thynges, they gaue vnto the Count Renneberg, the dignitie and office of this Robles, and sent hym thether for the orderynge of those affaires, whiche he so wisely handeled, as that after the Souldiers were paid, The Count of Groenynge and all the Countrey of Friselande, submitted them selues vnder the obedience of the Estates. And the Castle which was now built for a strength, was by the appointment of the Count Renneberg, bitterly defaced and razed.

**Anno 1577.
A skirmishe,
by Liege.**

In Januarie 1577. the Scottes whiche were in paie vnder the Estates, vnder the conduct of their Colonell Baufour, meetyng at the Foote bale within a myle of Liege, were so brauely skirmished withall by the Spanyardes, as that a greate sort of them were left dead in the place, and the rest fled awaie.

Don Ihon cometh in to the lowe Countreis.

Whiles the Estates warred againste the Spanyardes, the king of Spaine sent into the lowe Countreis, Don Ihon of Austriche to be Gouvernour: who taryng a while in the Countrey of Luxembrough, for the confirmation and ratifyng of the pacification that was made at Gaunt, before he came into Brabande, there was an accorde thereof made at Marche in Famine, betweene Don Ihon, and the Estates the 12. of February 1577.

The Castle of Utricht, rendred,

The 13. of the saied moneth, the Spanyardes who kepte the Castle of Utricht, beeyng besieged by the Count Bossu, and Seignieur Hierges, for want of victualles, rendred the same by composition into the handes of the Count Bossu.

The aforesaid accorde that was made by Don Ihon, was in manner and fourme of a perpetuall Edict, and in the ende proclaimed at Bruxelles the 17. of February, and the 27. at Antwerpe: The Copie whereof, hereafter ensueth.

A perpetuall Edict, made by Dⁿ Ihon

Phillip, by the grace of God, King of Castile, Leon, Arragon, Nauarre, Naples, Sicile, Maiorque, Sardigne, of the Isles of Indie, and of the firme lande of the Ocean Sea: Arch Duke

Duke of Austrich, Duke of Burgonie, Lothier, Brabant, Lim-
brough, Luxembrough, Gelderlande, and Hylaine: Count of
Harlsbrough, Flaunders, Artois, and Burgonie, Palatine of
Haynault, Hollande, Zealande, Namure, and Zurphen: Prince
of Suane, Marques of the holy Empire, Lorde of Friselande,
Salines, Malines, of the Citie, Townes, and Countrie of U-
tricht, Dierpsell and Groenynge, Commaunder ouer all Asia
and Affrique. To all to whom these our Letters Patentes shall
come to be seene, heard, and read, Greetyng. Where sithens Ju-
lie last to our no small grieve and sorrowe, there haue many thyn-
ges fallen out in our lowe Countreies, by reason of certaine alte-
rations whiche haue come to passe betweene our Souldiers of
Spayne, and other forraigne Souldiers seruing there: by meanes
whereof, what chaunges aboue the affaires of the Common
weale, what troubles, together what disorders, inconueniences,
euill dealynges, and miseries, haue thereon ensued, all the world
right well knoweth. We therefore, for the reconciliation, peace,
and tranquillitie of our saied lowe Countreies, and for the admi-
nistration and generall Gouvernement of the same, haue sent into
our saied lowe Countreies, our moste deare and entirely beloued
Brother, Don Ihon of Austrich, Knight of our order of the gol-
den Fleece: after whose arriual in our saied lowe Countreies, our
foresaid good Brother dealt, and concluded, first in our Citie of
Luxembrough, with our most deare, faithfull and welbeloued the
reuerent Father in God, Dan Bathewe Abbot of Saint Gil-
laine, chosen Bishoppe of Arras, Charles Phillip of Croye,
Marques of Pawriche, &c. Our Cosine and one of the Gentle-
men of our Chamber, Charles Hauart, Baron of Liekirke, Li-
count of our Citie of Bruxelles, and Adolf Heerkirke, a Coun-
sellour, and Receiuer of our lowe Countrey of Franque within
our Countie of Flaunders, being all of them Commissioners and
Deputies for the generall Estates of our saied lowe Countreies.
And afterwarde, at our Citie of Marche, and next at our Towne
of Huy in the Countrey of Liege: By the entermeetynge and in-
tercession, at the saied Towne of Huy, of the Lordes here under
named, Ambassadors and Deputies for our moste worthie and
right welbeloued Brother, Rodolf the seconde of that name, cho-
sen Emperour of the Romaines, alwaies Augustus, &c. for the
byngyng

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byrnyng to passe and setting forwarde of the saied reconciliation, vnyon, and accorde, by the aforesaid Imperiall Maiestie especially appointed, and sent: to witt, the most reuerent Father in GDD, our deare and good frende Dan Gerarde of Grossebeke, Bisshoppe of Liege, Duke of Buillon, Marques of Frauchimont, Count of Loo, &c. Prince of the holy Empire, Lorde Phillip le Alde, Frauncq Baron, and President of Wineabergh, and Andewe Gaile Doctor of the Lawes, one of the Counsell of the saied imperiall Maiestie, Werner, Lorde of Simniche Drossat of the Countrey of Juliers, and Ihon Louwerman, a practiser in the Lawes, both Counsaillours to the high and mighty Prince our moste deare and right welbeloued Uncle, William Duke of Juliers, Cleue &c. and Prince of the holy Empire, as Deputies of the saied Prince and Duke, and Ambassador vnto the saied Imperiall Maiestie, chosen and appointed to the thing aforesaid by the saied Prince and Duke in his absence, with our moste deare and faithfull Counsaillours of the Estate, substituted by vs to the generall and priuate gouernement of our saied lowe Countreys. And the aforesaid Dan Mathewe Abbot of Sainct Gillaine, chosen Bisshoppe of Arras, Dan Bucha Apta, Archdeacon of Pyres, Lorde Fredericke Perenot Baron of Renay: The worshipfull Maister Champigni, Gouernour of our Citie of Anewerpe, Ihon of Sainct Dimer, Lorde of Hozbecque, Gouernour of our Citie and Castle of Aye: Francis de Alewin Maister of Sueuegem, chiefe Bayliefe and Captaine of our Towne and Castle of Andenarde, Knights: and the saied Adolf of Heerkirke Substitutes and Deputies to the saied Estates, and lastly in our Citie of Bruxelles, where, for the containing and finishing of the saied Treatie and Accorde, met and ioyned together, with our saied Counsell of Estate, and with the Counsell of the saied Estates, the saied Lordes, Ambassadors and Deputies of the Empire, and the Subdelegates of the saied Prince and Duke of Juliers, together our most deare, and very faithfull Counsaillour, the Lorde Octaupan Gouzage Knight, Substituted with our saied good Brother for that ende and purpose, by whom was sent certaine pointes and Articles, tending and seruyng for the saied reconciliation, accorde, and vnyon, and for the good aduise and direction thereof. We accordyng to the
determina.

determination, counsaile and aduise of our saied good Brother Don Ihon of Austriche, and of our saied Counsailes of Estate, and also of our priuie Counsaile, haue for agreement sake, and accordyng to the tenure and prepozte of the saied pointes, and meanes, betwixt vs on the one side, and the saied Estates on the other, treated and agreed, for vs, our Heires, and Successors, and haue also appointed and ordained, and by these presentes by waie of a perpetuall and erreconcible Edict, dooe constitute and ordaine the pointes and Articles hereafter ensuyng.

1 That all offences, iniuries, faultes, hurtcs, harmes, and generally, all factes and actes doen, happened, and accomplished by reason of the chaunges, alterations and troubles aforesaid, by all and euery of the Enhabitauntes and Citizens of our said lowe Countreis, in whatsoeuer place, and in what maner soeuer, aswell generally as perticulerly, shall bee vtterly forgotten, and taken, as not doen or happened: so that neuer hereafter, any mention, molestation, grieffe, nor sisting out, shall be made or had vpon any of the Citizens and Enhabitauntes aforesaid, for the same.

2 And because that the Bishoppes, Abbots, and other Prelattes and Ecclesiasticall parsones of our foresaid lowe Countreis, together the Diuines and Lawyers of the Uniuersitie of Louuaine, by diuers their Letters Patentcs thereon by them made, haue giuen counsaile and testimonie, that accordyng to the Estate of the affaires of our saied lowe Countreis, wherein at that tyme thei were, the treatie of the peace made in our Citie of Gaunt, and concluded the 8. of Nouember last, betweene the aforesaid Estates on the one side, and our saied Cosine Lorde Willyam of Nassou, Knight of our order aforesaid, Prince of Orange, and the Estates of our Countreis of Hollande and Zeelande and their associates and confederates on the other side, containyng nothyng, that was any waie prejudiciall to our holie Faith, and the Catholique and Apostolique Romishe Religion: but contrariwise, to the aduancynge and setting vp of the same, and our saied Counsaile of Estate hauing likewise giuen aduise, testimonie, and Certificates, that accordyng to the Estate of the affaires of the saied lowe Countreis, wherein thei then were, the saied treatie of peace likewise not containyng any thyng, hurtfull to our highnes, aucthoritie, and obedience, due to vs, by our said
lowe

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lowe Countreys, and especially, the saied Lordes Ambassadors and Deputies of the Empire, and Subdelegates of the saied Prince and Duke of Juliers, haupng witnessed and certified that, whiche before is saied, accorpyng to the conformitie of the saied Bishoppes, Abbots, and other Prelattes and Ecclesiasticall parsons, and of all the rest of our saied Counsaile of Estate. Wee haue agreed, approued, and ratified, and by this our saied present treatie of peace, doe agree, approue, and ratifie, to, and all, and euery of these pointes and Articles: First, by the faith, and in the worde of a Kyng and Prince, so farre as this treatie of peace maie touch and concerne vs, and inuiolably to obserue and keepe the same for euer, and likewise, cause all and euery one, whom it shall touche, to obserue and keepe, and accorpyng thereto, wee agree and ordaine, that the conuocation and assemble of the generall Estates of our saied lowe Countreys, mentioned in the third Article of the saied treatie of peace, shalbe made in suche maner and fourme, and to suche effect, as in the saied Article moze at large is contained.

3 Also, wee agree, appointe, and ordaine, that all and euery our menne of warre, aswell Spanyardes, Almaines, Italians, Bougonians, and all other forrein Souldiers whatsoeuer, whether thei serue on foote, or on horsebacke, beyng now in our saied low Countreys, shall depart franckly and freely by land, without any stoppe or stalle of any of our saied lowe Countreys, and neuer to retourne againe, nor any other to bee sent thether, and not one forraine Souldier to remaine there generally, and forbydypng also, all forreiners, without thei haue necessarie businesse of their owne, or haue leaue, and be allowed, by the generall Estates, of our saied lowe Countreys.

4 As for the tyme, and terme, of the departure, of our saied men of warre, we agree, appoint, and ordaine, that all the Spanyardes, Italians, and Bougonions must and shall bee gone with in twentie daies of the insinuation, whiche thereon shall incontinently be made, by our saied good Brother, out of our Citie and Castle of Antwerpe, and out of all other Cities, Castles and fortresses of our saied lowe Countreys, whiche thei presently holde and enioye, or in any place els wheresoeuer, within any of all our said lowe Countreys, and namely in our Duchy of Luxembrough
withis

within other twentie daies, and soner if soner maie bee : aboute whiche , our saied good Brother , will with all his power and might, employe hymself. And durynge the tyme of the saied fourtie daies, all and euery of our men of warre, shall beare , and be-haue them selues, honestly, and peaceably, without ransackynge, pillynge, and pollynge, and in no maner whatsoeuer , oppresse and hurte our lowe Countreys, nor yet any of the Countreys, or enha-bitantes of them, nere adioynynge.

5 As for the tyme, and terme, of the departure, of the afore-saied Almaines, thei shall departe and goe out of our saied Lowe Countreys , so sone as the saied Estates shall haue agreed with them, vpon the finishynge (as hereafter in the 15. Article of our present Letters, shall more at large bee set donne, and foresene of their accompt and rekenynge made with them, and thei payed all suche dueties, as in equitie and conscience are due vnto them.

6 That all our saied men of warre, aswell Spanyardes, Almaines, Italians, Bourgonions, and all the rest, must, and shall leaue behinde them, after their departure out of our saied Cities and Castles, all the Victualles, Provision, Artillarie, and all the warlike furniture that thei there haue : whiche our Cities, and Castles, with the Victualles, Provision, Artillarie, and warlike furniture, we will, by the aduise of our saied Counsaile of Estate, put into the handes, of the most qualified, and mere naturall bozne Countrey menne, within our saied Lowe Countreys, according to the priuiledges of our saied Lowe Countreys, and for the tyme beeyng, into the possession of suche, as our saied Estates shall best like of.

7 And as touchynge the oppression, taxes, and compositions, whiche by any of our saied men of warre whatsoeuer, haue in our saied lowe Countreys been committed: we will leaue thesame to be ordered, accordynge as shall appertaine to Lawe, reason and equitie, and whiche also, for quietnesse sake, maie by mosste appa-raunt likelyhodes bee performed and brought to passe. Wee will also, that enquirie bee made, aswell about the heades, and chief of our men of Warre, as also about all and euery of our saied infe-riour Souldiers, who, in any maner and sorte whatsoeuer, haue misused them selues, and offended, within our saied lowe Coun-treys, or the Countreys to them adioynynge, and therevpon,

Et. s.

will

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will see, that Lawe and Justice be administred, whether it be in our lowe countreys, or otherwise within our Realmes of Spain, or els, whereloeuer we shall finde the same, best appertaine.

8 Wee also agree, appointe, and ordaine, that all and euery prisoner and prisoners, who, by reason of the saied chaunges, alterations, and troubles, haue been put to raunsome, shall be mutually released and freely deliuered thereof: Alwaies prouided, that as concernyng the retorne of our Cosin Phillip Willpam of Nassou, Count of Buren in our saied Lowe Countreys, shall by all the meanes possible we can, bee set forthwith free, and at libertie in our saied Lowe Countreys, immediatly vpon the breaking vp and endyng, of the saied assemblee of the Generall Estates, and vpon the reall, and actuell accomplishyng of the saied Prince of Orange his promise, determined and concluded, in the aforesaid assemblee.

9 Wee also agree, appoint, and ordeine, that the question, difference, and controuerlie, for the reestablisshyng and restoryng of any of the Lordes and Officers vnto their Gouvernementes, Estates, and Offices, from whiche, by reason of the chaunges, alterations, and troubles aforesaid they are deposed, shall bee suspended and surcease, vntill the ende of the Assemblee of the saied Generall Estates: and then, the same question, difference, and controuerlie to bee put to the Lawe, and respectiuey committed to the ordenarie Counsellers and Justices of our saied Lowe Countreys, and accorpyng to suche knowledge as they shall finde out, to bee truely and iustly decided and determined.

10 Wee promise vpon the faith of a Kyng and Prince, to obserue and mainteine, and in the behalfe of our saied good Brother and of all other Gouvernours, and euery of them, aswell Generall as perticuler, and in the behalfe also of as many as are by vs, or hereafter shall, by our successeurs bee substituted, to cause all and euery Priuiledges, Lawes, Uses, and Customes of our Lowe Countreys, to be obserued and mainteined. Neither will we appoint to be substituted vnder vs, either our saied good Brother, nor any other Gouvernours of our saied lowe Countreys, in counsell nor otherwise, for the true Gouvernement and publicke administration of our saied Lowe Countreys, saue onely suche, as are naturallly bozne within our saied Countreys.

11 And so likewise haue thesaied Estates mutually for their parte, vppon their conscience, faith, and honour, before God and men, promised to obserue and mainteine, and must, and shall also obserue and mainteine, eche and euery where, our holie, Catholique, and Romishe faith, and all aucthoritie and obedience to vs apperteyning, without crossyng the same, any waie whatsoeuer.

12 The saied Estates, haue also promised to renounce, and must and shall renounce, all and euery Alleance and Confederacie, whiche thei for their sautie and defence haue with foireiners, thence the aforesaid chaunges, alterations, and troubles.

13 The saied Estates haue in like sorte and maner also promised, to cause to bee licensed and sent awaie, and must and shall license and sende awaie out of our Lowe Countreys, all and euery foireine Souldiers, by them leued, or caused to be leued. And to also against, and must and shall be against all the rest, for their comynyng into our saied Lowe Countreys.

14 The saied Estates also, in token of the true and naturall affection, whiche thei beare towarde our seruice, haue freely offered and graunted vnto vs the somme of five hundred thousande poundes, at fourtie Flemishe Grotes to the pound. The one half of whiche somme thei haue faithfully promised, forthwith to paie into the handes of the saied Lordes Ambassadours of the Empire, and Subdelegates of the said Prince and Duke of Juliers: to the ende that thesaied moitie, might by the saied Lordes Ambassadours, Deputies and Subdealeagues, bee equally paid and deliuered vnto the handes of our saied good Brother, or to his Substitutes, at the will and discretion of the saied Lordes Ambassadours and Deputies, for our said men of warre, Spanyardes, Italians, Bourgonions, and other Foireiners, for the dispatchyng of them out of our Citie and Castle of Antwerpe, and out of all the rest of our other Cities, Castles, and Fortresses, alwaies reseruyng the saied Almaines, vntill suche tyme as thei haue fully and wholly reckned with them, as hereafter shall be declared. And the other halfe, the saied Estates shall by their sufficient letters, sende the same to Geennes in exchange, within twoo monethes after that the saied Spanyardes, Italians, and Bourgonians, shall departe from our saied Citie and Castle of Antwerpe, and there paie it into the handes of suche as our

saied good Brother, shall giue full power and aucthoritie to receiue.

15 The saied Estates haue in maner and forme as aforesaid, promised to take, and haue already taken the charge, to content our saied Almaines their wages and hier, after that thei haue reckned with them, and as thei finde them in reason and equitie to bee behinde. For accomplishing whereof, wee, and our good Brother doe promise to helpe the saied Estates, and accordyng to our powers, aucthoritie and credite, will helpe the to all suche recknynges and notes, into their handes, as maie induse, or any waie perswade the saied Almaines, that their whole meanyng and entent is to paie them that whiche is their due, and whatsoeuer els thei shall thinke to be reasonable. And againe, the saied Lordes and Deputies of the Empire, and the Subdealeagues of the saied Prince and Duke of Juliers, did likewise frankly offer to doe the like vnto the saied Almaines: And besides, that thei would desire the saied Imperiall Maiestie, to bee so good and gracious, as to vse and imploie his saied aucthoritie, vppon the aforesaid Almaines: And commaunde them, that vntill suche tyme as thei were satisfied, to remaine peaceably in suche places of our Lowe Countreis, as we by the aduise of our saied Counsell of Estate, should appointe them, for the defence and assurance of vs, and of our saied Estates.

16 The saied Estates also, haue in maner and forme aforesaid promised, and are to stande bound, that after the departure, of the aforesaid Spanyardes, Italians, and Bourgonions, out of our Lowe Countreis, to receiue our saied good Brother, who hath with hym, Letters Patentes of Commission thereto seruyng, made for the same purpose. And when, accordyng to Custom, he is sworne, and hath receiued all the Ceremonies, that are to be vsed and obserued, about the choyng of a Gouvernour, Lieutenaunt, and Generall for vs, in our Lowe Countreis. That then the saied Estates are to behaue thein selues to hym, as to their Gouvernour, and shall behaue them selues towards hym in suche regard, honour and obedience, as to the like Potentate appertemeth: Alwaies prouided, that the saied treatie of peace, made in our citie of Gaunt, and whatsoeuer els thereon depending, shall notwithstanding remain in full strength and vertue.

17 We also enact and ordeine, that our Successors at their ioyfull entrie, and our saied good Brother, and all the rest of our Gouvernours, by vs or our Successors admitted into our Lowe countreys, aswell generall as perticuler, and all and euery of our Presidents, Counsaillours, Officers, and Justicers, befoze the commyng in, entrie, and begimnyng of their Administration and charge of their Gouvernements, Dignities, and Offices, shall be solempely sworne, to keepe and obserue, and asmuche as in thent lpeth, cause this our present Acte and Ordenaunce, to bee obserued and kept.

18 And lastly we agree, approue, and holde for effectuall and good, all constitutions of Rentcs, Pensions, and all Bondes and Assuraunces, whiche the saied Estates haue made and passed, or, whiche as yet thei shall make and passe, to all and euery one whiche haue assested, furnished, and lent them, or whiche shall hereafter assest, furnish, or lende them any money for the seruing of their turnes, and helpyng of them, by reason of the aforesaid troubles, and tumultes, and especially, all Bondes and Assuraunces made, to the most high and mightie Princeesse, our most deare Sister the Queene of Englande.

19 To the ende, that all the pointes and Articles aforesaid might faithfully and in deede, be obserued, accomplished, and take effect, and that, whatsoeuer contained within these our present Letters, might remaine firme, constant, and remaine inuolable for euer. We haue caused these presentes, by our saied good Brother, to be signed and sealed, on the one parte: And the saied Estates, on the other parte, haue caused the Seale of the Estates of our Duchy and Countrey of Brabant, for, and in the name, and at the request, of all the rest of the saied Estates to bee put to, and caused the same to be signed at the especiall and expresse commaundement and appointment of all the saied Estates, by our deare and beloued *Cornelius Weellemans*, Secretarie to the saied Estates of Brabant. And likewise, at the request and entreaty on the behalfe bothe of vs, and our saied good Brother, about this acte, as also at the request of the saied Estates: the saied Lordes Ambassadors Deputies of the Empire, and Subdelegates of the saied Prince and Duke of Juliers, as Mediators and Intercessors, for the saied reconciliation, accorde, and vnion, compri-

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sed in our present deede, haue in like sorte beene a meane, to sett forwarde with their owne handes, the saied our present deede signed: Hauyng also willpyngly offred, to get the same to bee commended, confirmed, approued, and ratified, and whatsoeuer els if it shall bee thought necessarie, by the imperiall Maiestie, for the setting forwarde of the saied reconciliation, accorde, and vnion, by them made, and treated of. Giuen at our Citie of Harthe in Famine the 12. of February 1577. And of our Kyngdomes, to wit of Spayne, Sicile &c. the 23. And of Naples, the 25. subscribed, *Ihon*. And vnderneath was written: By the appointment of his hignesse, and signed, *F. le Vasseur*. And on the other side was written: Giuen at our Citie of Bruxelles the 17. of February 1577. And of our Raigne, to wit of Spayne, Sicile &c. 23. And of Naples the 25. And vnderneath was written: By the ordenaunce of the Counsell of Estate of our soueraigne Lord the kyng, Substituted by his Maiestie, to the generall Gouvernement of our Lowe Countreis hereabout: and signed *D'ouerloope*. And then againe was written: By the especiall and expresse appointment of the Lordes of the generall Estates of the Lowe Countreis. And signed *Cornelius Weellemans* and vnderneath it, Girard Bishop of Liege, Phillip the Elder, Baron of Winnenberg &c. Andrewe Gaill D. Wernertzo: Simmiche and Ihon Louwerman. And vnderneath all this was written: Proclained at Bruxelles the 17. of February 1577. in the presence of my Lordes the Counsell of Estate, Substituted by the kyng, to the generall Gouvernement of the Lowe Countreis. And by the priuie Counsell, and by my Lorde the moste reuerende Bishop and Prince of Liege, and the other Lordes Ambassadors and Deputies of the Imperiall Maiestie, and my Lordes the generall Estates of the Lowe Countreis. By me the Secretarie of the Citie of Bruxelles: And subscribed *Aerssens*.

The Prince of Orenge, and the Estates of Hollande and Sealande, hauyng receined the Copie of the saied perpetuall Edicte, make protestation vnto the pointes and Articles of the peace of Don Ihon, as followeth.

The



AHe Prince of Orange, and the Estates of Hollande and Sealande, hauyng seen letters of credite, whiche letters on the behalfe of my Lordes the Estates of the Lowe Countreis hereabout, by the lord Milernall, and maister Paule Bush Adouocate of Hollande, accompanied with the Lordes the Ambassadors of the Emperour, who were hereunto instantly required, are shewed to his Excellencie: by whiche, my Lordes the Estates, demaunde aduise, and aunswere, vnto certaine Articles framed in forme of a perpetuall Edict in the kynges name, tending to the vniou of the Countreis hereabout, and by Don Ihon of Austriche, to theim for that purpose deliuered: Haue aunswere, and by these also doe aunswere: that thei, as concernyng the saied Articles, doe greatly praise and commend the holy zeale, good meanyng and intent, whiche the saied Lordes of the Estates declare theim selues to haue, for the reducyng againe of our pooze and miserable Countrey, vnto suche a desired tranquillitie and vniou, greatly assuryng them selues, that the saied Lordes of the Estates seke herein nothyng els, but the deliuerance of the pooze afflicted enhabitautes, from the greate pouertie and miserie, wherein, thei are as it were, cleane ouer hedde and cares, by the cruell and insupportable Tyrannie, of the proude Spanishe nation, and their ill ordered gouernement, and that for the obseruation of the auncient Priuiledges, Lawes, and Franchises, thei had set a good and sure order, to the ende thei might not hereafter fall into the like inconuenience, but principally, in appochoyng fully and wholly by the saied Articles, vnto the laste pacification made at Gaunt the 8. of Nouember laste past: So that thei haue in all their matters and protestation, alwaies promised, and also made, commendable actes, and worthe perpetuall memorie: Neuerthelesse, after that the renowned and worthy Prince, together the Estates of Hollande and Sealande, had from point to point taken in hande to peruse the aforesaid Articles, and had, accordyng to the extreame necessitie of the matter, consideratly weighed them (as in deede, our predecesours in the like case, neuer wonted to forget, the obtainyng of all newe and commendable Priuiledges at their Lordes and Princes handes) thei were fully perswaded, that by the saied Ar-

The Prince of Orange, his protestation.

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ticles, the zeale and desire of the Lordes of the Estates aboute declared, was not as yet thoroughly satisfied. For, first it seemeth, that thesaied auncient Priviledges of the Countreys, whiche thei would in all pointes wrongfully defende, are verie prejudiciall, bothe because, that the libertie of the assemblyng of the generall Estates, to whom of right it aunciently apperteineth, is thereby quite and cleane taken from them, and also, because the Estates, are giuen to a newe bond and othe, not to be used. And this maie easely appeare in the newe infringing of the Priviledges, enen by the iniuste detainynge of the Countie Buren, who, in the open sight of all men, was, contrary to lawe, reason, and the Priviledges of the Countrey carried cleane awaie: Whiche ought so muche the moze to bee considered of, seying that the saied Priviledges in so iollie a beginnyng and treatie, which should expressely haue tended to the confirmation and aduaucing of theim, are thereby, deminished and lessened in a perticuler persone that neuer offended, whiche dealing, offereth small hope, of obseruyng the Priviledges with the people, and Cities, in generall, when as, euery light occasion will easely bee made rebellion, and treason against theim. And besides, euery man, that will not bee wilfully blinde, saith, that the laste pacification made at Gaunt, about the causes aforesaid, is broken, the infringing whereof, is the verie breake necke of all together, and therefore it is euident, whereunto the saied Articles tende, because, the allowyng and ratifying of the saied pacification, is not so clearely and perfectly made, as the weightinesse of suche a thyng requireth, but wholly hangeth, vpon certaine restraints and interpretations, whereon maie ensue muche deceipte, and craftie dealing, considering, that the Articles are altogether like vnto those, whiche in the tyme of the Duchesse of Parma, were the causes of suche an horrible effusion of blood: Against whiche, the Deputies of the Prince of Orange, and the Estates of Holland and Sealand, made open protestation, and caused also, a publicque Acte, bothe of their acceptation, and also of the Counsaile of Estate to bee likewise made.

And besides, like the Prince, and Estates of Holland and Sealand, findyng therein, certaine pointes, whiche to them seemeth to be so prejudiciall to the honour of their Countrey, as that
thei

thei feare to runne into an euerlasting infamie and shame, because we our selues, doe not onely thinke them, whiche haue so villainously handled and sacked vs, but doe also toyne hande in hande with them, so that we, by a Commission publickly declared by the auctoritie of his Maiestie, and of the Estates of the holy Empire, haue accused our selues to be Villaines and Rebelles, with all those, whiche haue made alliaunce and confederacie with the Spanyardes, and that whiche is moze, wee haue wittyngly and gladly suffered our Jewelles, Golde, Siluer, Honey, Marchandise, and extorted Exactions, to bee caried out of our Countrey, without any gainsayng. And besides, thei perswade the Prince, and the Estates of Hollande and Sealande, that thei haue not fully discharged their honour and thankfulness in the saied Articles, vnto the Queene of Englandes highnesse, and to Monsire the Duke, the French Kyniges brother, who vnto vs, in the time of neede, had shewed their good affection, for the freeing of vs from the opprellion and flauerie wherein wee were, seeing that bothe reason, and occasion, sufficiently required, to comprehend them therein, with moze expresse and honozable Articles. Lastly, it is not to be founde in the saied Articles, that any assuraunce is graunted vnto the Enhabitauntes of Holland and Sealand, lithe that at the treatie of Breda, thei had a moze fitt and reasonable offer made them: Whiche thynge thei also in the ende, greatly required at the pacification of Sant, had it not been that their Deputies declared bothe by mouth and wrytyng, that thei would in no wise treat with any other, then with the saied Estates, shewing thereby, how roundly on their behalfe, thei then proceeded. Protestyng, that if so thei meant to recetue Don Ihon of Austriche, and deale with hym in suche sorte as now thei haue, that thei would haue demaunded an other maner of assuraunce, as in very deede, thei had good occasion. And besides, that as there was no mention made in these Articles for their safetie and assurance, no moze also was there any forwardnes of any matter set downe, wherby, any mā should be restozed to his goodes, possessions, Estate, & Gouvernement, as in many other places, both in the Countreis there aboutes, and also in the Countie of Burgondy it was, whiche notwithstanding, accordyng to the pacification (the same point in the saied treatie, which the generall Estates at that tyme,

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could not bee expresse declared) ought to haue beene conditioned and couenaunted. Moreouer, neither could there be any assurance perceiued to bee made, for the rest of the Countreies and Prouinces, nor yet for the poore Commonaltie of the same. For, there was no mention at all therein made, about the pulling downe of the Cytadelles or Castles, by reason of whiche, as all men well enough know, proceeded many mischieses: neither yet any plaine declaration of the forgettyng and forgiuynge of that, that was alreadye passed, no, nor yet of that, whereof mention is made in the saied Articles: whiche dealing, made the people very suspicious, because, that thei being openly threatned in the last Assemble at Huy, ought to haue beene well assured for the tyme to come, seeing the Countrey was vnarmed, and Don Ihon of Austrie appointed to be Gouvernour: considering also therewith, that the former examples plainly enough shewed the sequels of some such like thyng. And againe, it seemed that for this tyme, thei meant to ioine him onely with the generall Estates, but as ioiנט Gouvernours, that thei might thereby, depprue the people of all meanes, wherewith, hereafter to be able, to assure them selues against the ill will of hym, whom thei intended to appoint ouer them, as Gouvernour. To bee shorthe, there were yet many more pointes, whiche the Princes, and the Estates of Hollande and Sealande, thought necessarie to be well weighed and considered of: and therefore euery of them meant to set downe the same particularly by them selues, in writyng, and sende them to the Lords of the Estates, declaring vnto them, that the Prince and Estates of Hollande and Sealande were fully perswaded, that it was now high tyme, to followe the examples of our Predecessors, to the ende, that the Priuiledges, Lawes, and Franchises, whiche thei left behind vnto vs, might with one consent, and by this good oportunitie, now at hande, offered, bee augmented, so that thei might neuer hereafter fall againe, into the like inconueniences. But whiles thei made some staie about the setting downe of these Articles in writyng, a copie of Lettees was brought vnto them, whiche the Lordes of the Estates had written to Don Ihon of Austrie, by whiche thei perceiued, that the Lordes of the Estates were fully determined, to conclud and make an ende, without taryng for aunswere from the Prince, and Estates of
Hollande

Hollande and Zealande, with Don Ihon of Austriche, requiring hym to signe them, and promising that thei would proclatme them, and receiue Don Ihon of Austriche into the Countreys, as Gouvernour. Whereupon, when the Prince, and Estates of Hollande and Zealande sawe this alteration, thei greatly marueilled, considering that the date of the saied Letters (which was also brought to them in post) beare the very same date as it were, that the Lorde of Wileruall arrived. For, thei were out of all doubt, fully perswaded, and thought thei should so finde it, that in a treatie of suche importaunce and weight, whereon depended the whole welfare, or ruine, of all the lowe Countreys, thei had greatly ouer shotte them selues. Neuerthelesse, seeing that thei thinke and constantly beleue, that it is so muche the rather doen, for the ridding of the Spanyardes and other forrainers out of the Countrie, thei could not but wishe, and with all their hartes doe wish and praie to God, that the end maie be suche, as all good defenders of their Countries hope and looke for. And as for them selues, sicke it were now in vaine to peeble reasons against thynnges concluded vppon and ended, thei promise, and doe assure the Lordes of the Estates, to pursue and defende by all meanes possible, the pacification concluded vpon at Sant, liuyng in good hope also, the same to be the meanyng likewise, of the Lordes of the Estates, and therefore doe beseeche them, in all places to shewe, that thei for their parte are in very deede, readie to doe the like.

And to the ende, that every man might in truthe see, that thei haue none other purpose but to ridd awaie the Spanyardes and the rest of the Forrainers, and seeke nothynge els but the procuring of peace, and reestablishing of certaine Priuiledges, Lawes, and Franchises of the Countreys: thei are contented to accept, and subscribe, of, and to, the saied Articles, if it shall please my Lordes of the Estates, first to promise firmly and irrenocably it, and thereupon passe their deebe Obligatorie, and the same to bee also subscribed by the Gouvernours, chiefe Officers, and Colonelles, of all the Prouinces, that seying the tyme, agreed vppon with Don Ihon of Austriche, for the drying awaie of the Spanyardes, is now expired: to call to a reckonynge vpon suche a date of this Houeth, as the Estates shall appoint, all suche Spanyardes as are not yet departed the Countreys there aboutes, and

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my Lordes the Estates, for the auoidyng once againe of all deuilaies whiche vnto this daie haue been so preiudiciall, to cut of and suspende all further communication, and treatie, with Don Ihon of Austriche, and consequently, with force of Armes, lustely pursue the insolent and proude Spanyardes, without meanyng for euer after, any moze to enter into communication, or treatie, whatsoeuer, with them. And besides, that it would please them not to passe, and communicate the like acte and deede Obligatorie in foyme and maner of an agreement, other wise, then that after the departure of the Straungers, neither thei, nor yet the said Gouvernours, Chieftaines, and Colonelles, to accept of Don Ihon of Austriche, or any other, as Gouvernour, vntill suche tyme as he shall haue restored into their auncient estate, whatsoeuer, made, against the prestimate Priuiledges, Lawes, and Franchises of the Countreis, or otherwise against the pacification of Gaunt, by whiche, all and euery person and persons whatsoeuer, are to bee restored to their Gooddes and Possessions, aswell in Burgundie, as also in the rest of the Countreis there aboutes: and that all the saied Priuiledges and Franchises shall be confirmed, as the Lordes of the Estates, in the ende of the saied pacification of Gaunt, by the Letters of the 28. of October 1576. witten to their Deputies, had solemply promised. Giuen at Middlebrough the 19. of February 1577. And subscribed by *Willyam of Nassou*: And a litle beneath: By the ordenaunce of the Estates of Hollande and Sealande. And subscribed by *G. Faymon*.

The Answer of the Generall Estates, vpon the Protestation of the Prince of Orenge &c. And of the Estates of Hollande and Sealande.

Anno 1577.
The answer
of the gene-
rall Estates
to the prote-
station of the
Prince of
Orenge.



THE first daie of Marche 1577. The Lordes of the generall Estates thereaboutes, haupng seen the wrytyng of the Prince of Orenge, and of the Estates of Hollande and Sealande, exhibited vpon the agreement, betweene Don Ihon of Austriche, Knight of the golden Fleese, and the generall Estates of the Lowe Countreis, the 19. of Februarie

1577.

1577. the said generall Estates pronounce and declare, that their intent and purpose hath alwaies been, and yet is, to maintaine and keepe in deede and trueth, the pacification made at Gaunt in Nouember laste, betweene the said Prince his Excellencie, the Estates of Hollande and Sealande, and their confederates, and the said generall Estates: and emongest the reste, that thei also intended, to cause all thynges to bee redressed, whiche thei shall finde out of order, and contrary, as well to the generall, as to the perticular Priuiledges, Lawes, Franchises, and Customes, of the lowe Countreis, and by force of Armies likewise, driue out of the lowe Countries, all the Spanishe, Italian, and Bourgonion Souldiers, according to the conformitie of the said accord, if so be the said Souldiers bee not in deede gone out of the lowe Countreis by the tyme prefixed, and accordyngly as thei were expressely commaunded by his highnesse, without any further lookyng to other treatie or communication, about the deserryng any waie, of the retraicte of the said Spanyardes: And seeing that the Liutenautes of the Prouinces, Chieftaines and Colonelles of the men of warre, are bounde to doe the like, we require them also with the same resolution to subscribe: For the whiche cause, this present Acte is dispatched, and by the ordenaunce of the said generall Estates, Subscribed by the Secretarie of Brauant, the daie and yere abouesaid.

And accordyng to the agreement, the Spaniardes, by the appointment of Don Ihon (who otherwile, could not bee receiued vnto the Gouvernement) departed the Citie and Castle of Antwerpe the 10. of Marche 1577. with greate butin and spoyle. Whiche Castle, was deliuered ouer vnto the Duke of Arscot, who placed there for his Lieutenaunt, the Prince of Chimay his sonne, to the greate likyng of the whole worlde, because he was a verie noble yong Prince, and suche a one as in whom, was great hope of good. And although the Castle and Citie of Antwerpe, were freed of the Spaniardes, Italians, and Bourgonions, yet were thei still kept in subiection: For the kynges Almaines, and suche as assisted the Spaniardes at the sackyng of Antwerpe, remained still there, vnder their Colonelles, Jocquer and Frösberg, who laie there for their paie, whiche was an intollerable charge to the poore Citezins.

The Spaniardes druen to leaue the Citie and Castle of Antwerpe.

The

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The kyng
ratifieth D^e
Ihon his
peace with
the Estates.

Don Ihon
his entrie in
to Bruxelles

Don Ihon
goeth from
Bruxelles
to Malines.

Don Ihon
goeth from
Malines, to
Namure.

The 7. of August in the yere aforesaid, the kyng ratified the perpetuall Edict and Accorde, whiche Don Ihon had made with the Estates. And the 21. of Appill the Spaniardes departed straight, with their butin and theeuerie.

Don Ihon haupng hidde the subtilt fore vnder a plain cloke, entred Bruxelles the first of Maie 1577. where he was receiued with greate pompe, triumphe and ioye, of the lordes, and whole commonaltie, and the fourth of the saied moneth, tooke vpon him the gouernment of the Countrey, where he was sworne, whiche othe sone after he brake.

The 11. of Iune, he departed from Bruxelles to Malines, to talke (as he saied) with the Colonelles, and Captaines of the Almaines, who beeyng once paid, had their passeporte to departe out of the Countrey after the Spaniardes: Howbeit vnder this couler, he in verie deede, treated with them about the keepyng of the Citie of Antwerpe for hymself, to the ende he might the better assure hymself of the Castle: In so muche, that he retained the into his seruice, as afterward, by the interceptyng of many letters, and the doynges whiche thereon ensued manifestly appeared. And for the bypnyng of this his saied purpose to passe, he sent for the Prince of Chinay, to come to hym to Malines, vnder a coulourable desire of his companie, to the Citie of Namure about the tongratulation of the Queene of Nauarre. Appointyng eldestones for his Lieutenaunt in the saied Castle the lord of Terlon.

Then departed Don Ihon from Malines, accompanied with many noble men, whiche at that tyme, were there with hym, for the conueighyng of hym as Gouvernour of Namure: Where he, in warre like maner seised vpon the Castle the 24. of Iulie, vnder the pretence of riding an huntynge. When Monsieur de Froymont, Gouvernour of the Countrey of Namure, a wise and stout gentleman, had tolde Don Ihon of his greate wrong and fault committed, considering the vanitie of the act, and besides, that the Souldiers would not remedie it by force of Armes, departed from hym, and came to the saied Estates. And the twoo brethren, to wit, the Duke of Arscot, and the Marques of Haurech, beeyng noblemen of greate auctoritie, and suche as Don Ihon had good likyng of, perceiuyng his wicked purpose
and

and intente, and that no faire and reasonable speeches would once remoue hym, from his determination, refrained from cōmyng to counsaile afterward, any more. Don Ihon seying this, and fearyng the losse of them, caused good espiall to be laied for them, for the staiping of them as it were: howbeit for all his good watche and ward, thei verie wisely, without his knowledge, departed from Namure without any of their baggage, the 20. of the saied monethe. And thei were no soner come to Bruxelles, but that thei, like good patrones of their Countrey, went immediately to counsell with the Estates, for the saluyng of this newe wounde.

Whiles Don Ihon laie at Namure, he solicited bothe by letters, and by worde of mouthe Terlon, and the Almaine Colonelles, aboute the full accomplishyng of that matter in deede, whereof thei concluded emongest the selues at Malines, which was the suppressyng of Antwerpe Castle. But it tourned all to nothing, by reason of the greate care, paine, and fidelitie of Monsieur le Beurs. For by his wisdom and noble courage, he so handled the matter, as that he draue out the Traitors, and tooke Terlon prisoner, whom he deliuered vnto the Estates, the firste of August 1577.

Don Ihon
solicited
Terlon, and
the Almaines

When Foucques and Frontberg heard of this, it so amased them as that thei armed their people, and in the euenyng withdrew them selues to the greate Market place of Antwerpe, but fearyng, that the same would not be strong inough for them, and their people, thei withdrew them selues after Midnight, vnto the strongest place of the newe Toun, emongest the water conductes: where beyng well fortified and strengthened, thei kepte them selues quiete, untill the nexte daie in the afternoone. But when thei sawe the arriuall of the Prince of Orange Shippes, thei grewe into suche a feare, as that thei forsooke the toun, and fled, to witte, Foucques, to Bergues vpon Zoom, and Frontberg to Breda.

After that, the Estates besieged the Castle of Waue, where in Foucques Regiment of Almaines laie, but the 4. of the said moneth, it was rendered by composition to Monsieur de Champigni, generall of the field at that present, for the Estates: and so were likewise, the Tounes of Thole and Stonebergue, the 19.

The Castle
of Waue
rendred.

of

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of the saied moneth and yere.

The Castle
of Leeward,
rendred.

The 30. of August, an Alarme was giuen to the Castle of Leeward, into whiche, Captaine Mattenes Wylisma, had take moe newe Souldiers then his owne: thinkyng thereby, to haue taken some of the Magistrates. Howbeit, the newe Souldiers vnder Captaine Wybe of Goutum, got to bee Maisters of the Castle parforce, so that by the same meanes, arose a greate Alarme, by reason that the Souldiers were all in armes, one against an other: wherupon the Citezens also got the to Armes, fearyng the Towne had been surprised: and so besieged the Castle, whiche the Souldiers afterward rendred vnto them vpon condition, that thei might be paied. Then the Citezeins entred into the Castle the 2. of September, and kept it vntill the Gouernour Monsieur de Ville came.

When Don Ihon sawe, that the greate Campe of the Estates drew neare to Hamure, where he was but ill provided of men of Warre, he made shewe, as though he would againe treat with the Estates, to the ende that thereby, his force might the better bee gathered together, and therevpon, required Commissioners for that purpose. Then the Estates deputed for that vse, the Abbot of Sainte Gislaine, Milerval, Grobbendocque, and others, who after many delaies and conferences, retourned without doyng of any thing, considering, that the saied Duke Ihon meant nothyng els but warres.

The Castle
of Antwerpe
razed.

The 28. of August, 1577. the Castle of Antwerpe whiche had of long been a denne of murderers, was that very daie vtterly razed and defaced by the Citezens.

The 9. of September followyng, the Estates published their Justification, for the takyng of Armes in their defence, against Don Ihon, and withall certaine letters of Don Ihon, whiche thei had intercepted, wherein was contained his Treason, and because thei haue been Imprinted severally by theim selues, I haue left the insertyng of them, at this present.

Bergues
vpon Fosme
rendred.

The 10. of September, Charles Focquer beeyng at Bergues, and beyng besieged by the Lord of Champigni, Baron of Renay, Generall of the fieelde for the Estates, was taken by his owne Almaines, and deliuered prisoner to the saied Lorde de Champigni, and therefore thei franchly and freely sette out of the

the Towne.

The Almaines of the Count Duerstone, who laye at Boisse-
duke beeyng besieged, were forced at laste, to departe vpon com-
position, and deliuered by the Towne to the Count of Hohenloo,
Generall of the field, the 22. of September 1577.

Boisseduke
rendred.

The Estates sent to the Prince liyng in Holland, & besought
hym of aide, and so he did, for the loue he beare to his Countrey:
And in the ende, although long firste, he arrived at Antwerpe the
18. of September, where, the whole multitude receiued hym
with greate ioye and pleasure. The Prelates of Uilers and Pa-
rolles, with the Baron of Frezin, and the Lorde of Capres,
were sent by the generall Estates, to congratulate the Prince,
for the receiuyng and bringyng hym to Bruxelles, where, the 23
of the saied monethe and yere, he was with greate triumphe and
ioye marueilously receiued.

The Prince
of Orange
commeth in
to Brabant.

The Almaines at Breda, were by the Estates besieged, who
deliueyng by their Colonell Fronberg prisoner, departed by-
pon composition, frankly and freely the 4. of October.

The 22. of October, the Prince was chosen Gouvernour of
Brabande, to the greate contentation of the whole Countrey,
makyng Bonifiers at Bruxelles, in token of wonderfull ioye.

The Prince
of Orange
chosen Go-
uernour of
Brabant.

After that the Duke of Arscot was appointed Gouvernour
of Flanders, he went to Gande, where, the Citizens and Enha-
bitantes louyngly receiued hym, haupyng marchyng before him
23. Ensignes of footmen, and 300. horse, shewyng all the tokens
of ioy that might be. Now three daies after that he was receiued
as Gouvernour, to wit, the 28. of October, thei haupyng some tu-
multes and vproyes growyng emongest theim selues, went of
their owne heades to his house, and tooke, and ledde hym awaie
prisoner, to the no small greef, bothe of the Prince, and Counsell
of Estate, and also of the Generall Estates. But the 14. of No-
uember, acknowledged their fault, and the greate iniurie whiche
thei had doen hym, thei set hym free and at libertie, and yet with
this condition, that he should forget his euill handelyng, and par-
don the wrong that was dooen vnto hym, and neuer once thinke
of it more.

The Duke
of Arscot ta-
ken prisoner
by them of
Gant.

At the very same tyme likewise, thei tooke the Bishoppes of
Bruges, and Ypres: The Baron of Rassingem, the Lorde of
Do. j. Champigni

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Champigni, the Lorde of Houcron and his sonne: The Lorde of Smeuegem and Epcke.

Bishops and Gentle-
men, taken
prisoners at
Groening.

The first of Nouember 1577. the Citizens and Enhabitants of the Citie of Groening in Friselande, tooke certaine Bishops and Gentlemen of the Countrey of Groening prisoners, by reason of the auncient quarrell and dissention, that the Citie long tyme had agatist the Countrey men. Wherefore, thether was sent Honnre Saint Aldegonde and Sille, by his Excellencie, the Counsaile of Estate, and of the Estates generall. Howbeit, thei could winne nothyng at the common peoples hande. Neuerthelesse, some of the Prisoners afterwarde, very craftely got out of Prison, and escaped out of the Towne also.

A blazing
Starre seen.

The 9. or 10. of Nouember 1577. appeared a fearfull Comette in the lowe Countreis, wherevpon ensued great sheddyng of blood and the death of Don Ihon.

**The Arch-
duke Ma-
thias com-
meth into the
lowe Coun-
treis.**

The chiefe Lordes there aboutes, trustyng to mollesie the Kynges harte, by makyng some of his owne blood Gouvernour generall, sent the Lorde of Hallsede, to the right high, Mathias Archduke of Austriche, sonne and Brother to the Emperour, beseechyng hym to come thether for that ende and purpose. But, the Archduke seying, that the Emperour was asfeard to displease the Kyng, and therefore would not consent thereto, secretly departed from Nienne, without hauyng any bodie with hym, saue the L. de Dantwittes, his chiefe Chamberlaine. And at last came to Antwerpe the 12. of Nouember 1577.

**Don Ihon
and his ad-
herentes,
proclaimed
open ene-
mies.**

The 7. of December, Don Ihon and his Adherentes were declared to bee the Kynges and Countreis enemies, and so proclaimed, the tennure whereof ensueth.

By the Kyng.



Our deare and faithfull Knight, Lorde George de Lalayng, Count of Renneberge, free Baron de Uille, Gouvernour, and Captaine generall of our Countrey of Friselande, Querypsell, Groening, and Lingem: Greetyng.

Whereas certaine Cities, Castles, Fortresses, and other places of certaine Prouinces hereabout, especially certaine Noblemen,

blemen, Gentlemen, and priuate persons, haue gone about and
 doe, contrary to the duetifull fidelitie, whiche thei owe to vs and
 their Countrey, directly to ouer reache and crosse, the pacifica-
 tion made at Gaunt, and the perpetuall Edict whiche thereon
 ensued, by vs agreed vpon: and breakyng the bypon whiche the
 generall Estates of our Countreis here aboutes made, and by
 some of them subscribed vnto, takyng parte with the Span-
 yardes, whom we of late declared and proclaimed Rebelles, and
 had helpe, and did stil holde, with Don Ihon of Austriche and the
 saied Spanyardes, and their adherentes, fauourpng, ayd png and
 assistpng them, with counsaile, Pen, Munition, Victualles, Mo-
 ney, and other necessaries, shewpng them selues as aduersaries,
 and takpng armes against vs, the saied Estates generall, and
 their owne Countrey, for the whiche thei are to bee taken as Re-
 belles, and worthe so to bee punished, bothe in bodie and goodes.
 And we are further informed, and aduertised, that the said Cities,
 places, and persones, whiche fauour our aduerse partie, as before
 hath bene saied, seeke by all meanes possible, to chaunge, alter,
 leuie, and recouer their Goodes, Reuenues, Rentes, and debtes,
 whiche thei haue had, and yet haue, in ou Countreis here about,
 bothe for the helppng of them selues, and also for the bestowpng
 of the same against vs, and their Countrey, and moze would be-
 stowe, if wee on our behalfe looked not to the same in tyme. And
 therefore wee, haupng considered of the matters aforesaid, and
 bepng very desirous to remedie the same, haue by the aduise of
 our most deare and welbeloued, the Prelattes, Nobles, and De-
 puties of the Prouinces and Cities, representpng the saied ge-
 nerall Estates of our Countreis here aboutes, presently assem-
 bled in this our Citie of Bruxelles, ordained, and by th se pre-
 sentes doe ordaine, all our Lieutenautes, Gouvernours, Offi-
 cers, Ammans, Droffartes, Baylieses, Marshalles, Prouostes,
 and Receiuers of our Reuenues, euery one within his Precinct,
 and Iurisdiction, and as many to whom this shall appertaine,
 to take a note, and make sepsure of all the moueable, and immoue-
 able Goodes, Actions, and Credittes of our saied Aduersaries,
 their adherentes and fauters, aswell those which belong vnto the
 Cities, Townes, Commonaltie, as also to priuate persones, and
 the same to be kept and conserued for the benefeit and vse of those

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to whom it shall appertaine, and after, to bee ordered and disposed as shalbe thought good. We also further, will and commaund all those whiche haue in possession, pawne, or that can otherwise tell, if any goodes, debtes, or actions, belongyng to suche as take parte with our saied aduersaries and enemies of the generall Estates, of what estate and condition so euer they are, that forthwith or at the least within eight daies after the publication herof, they denounce, signifie, and declare, vnto the chiefe Officer, resiaunt amongst them, together vnto the Receiuer of our Reuenues there, aswell whatsoeuer they haue in pawne and possession, and whatsoeuer els they owe vnto the saied persones, fauouryng our saied aduersaries, or whatsoeuer els they knowe, others, to haue in pawne or possession, or might any waie owe them. And besides, where wee haue heretofore inhibited and forbidden, wee also by these presentes doe inhibite and forbidde, all our Subiectes or other Enhabitauntes and Resiauntes in our saied Countreys hereabout, of what estate or condition soeuer they bee, to paie or deliuer vnto any of the saied Enemies and Aduersaries of the Countreys, or their adherentes, whether it be to Cities, Townes, Burroughes, Fraternities, or other priuate persons, vpon paine of repaiyng the same, or suche as haue concealed the thyng aforesaid, or haue not opened the same, to cause the value of the same to be paid whiche they haue concealed, and the forfeitures aforesaid to be coumpted as followeth, that is to saie: One third part to our benefite and vse, and the same to be bestowed about the defence of our Countreys against the saied Enemies and Rebelles: an other third parte to the benefite of hym that descrieth it: and the last third parte to the benefite of hym whiche putteth it in execution. And last of all, wee clerely forbidde all and euery Cities, Townes, Burroughes, Places, Brotherhoodes, and other priuate persons, to aide and assist the saied Don Ihon of Austrich, and all others whiche bee our Aduersaries and Enemies of our generall Estates, either with counsaile, Men, Victualles, Munition, Armour, Weapon, or Money, nor yet any waie benefite them by aduertisementes or otherwise, directly, or indirectly, in what maner soeuer, vpon paine of suche punishment bothe in bodie and goodes, as is due to the fauters and abettors of Rebels, and enemies of the Countreys. And for as muche as there are

a great many of principal Officers in our saied Countreys, who, sithence the retraits of the saied Don Ihon of Austriche into the Castle of Namure, haue absented them selues without leaue and consent, and by reason thereof, haue not executed their saied Offices, but haue been resiaunt out of our saied Countreys: We will and commaunde all suche, as haue so absented them selues, and all the rest likewise whiche haue openly shewed them selues parties and aduersaries to the saied Countreys, to retourne in proper persons, for the executing of their saied Offices, within fiftene daies at the fardest, after the publication of these presentes, vpon paine of the losse, and deppauation of their saied Offices and dignities, and to be taken as fauters and abettors of Rebelles, and enemies of the saied Countreys in maner as aforesaid. And to the ende, that none should pretende ignorance of this our ordenaunce and Inhibition, wee expressely will, and commaunde, that forthwith, and without delaie, you cause these presentes to be proclaimed, in all suche places, where commonly Proclamations are proclaimed, throughout all the Cities, Burroughes, and Townes of our saied Countreys of Friselande, Querypsell, Groenying, and Lingen. And for the better proceeding in the obseruation hereof, to execute the forfeitures and paines aforesaid, vpon all the transgressors of the same, without fauour, meede, or supportyng what soeuer. For perfoirmaunce whereof, and whatsoeuer els depending thereon, wee giue you, and all others to whom it shall appertaine, full power, auctoritie, and speciall commaundement, and doe farther will and commaunde all and euery of them which so doe, that both you, and they them selues, doe rightly vnderstand and obaie the same, because it is our pleasure, it should bee so. Giuen at our Citie of Buxelles vnder our Countrey seale whiche is here put to this Commission the 7. of December 1577. And vnderneath was writtem: By the Kpng, and vnder it, subscribed.
Mesdach.

An open declaration made by the Generall Estates of the Countreys thereabout, against Don Ihon of Austrich, and against suche naturall Countrey men borne, as are his followers and assisters.

A declaratiō
of the Esta-
tes, against
Don Ihon.

THE Prelates, Nobilitie, and Deputies of the Prouinces and Cities, representyng the generall Estates of the Countreys hereabout, being presently assembled, and met together, at the Citie of Bruxelles, hauing understood, that there are certaine whiche stande in doubt, whether Don Ihon of Austrich ought to be dealt withal, and holden as enemye to the Countreys or not: Notwithstandyng, that through his deuises and do- pynges, he hath shewed hymself to be suche a one in dedde, sithence his retraict to the Castle of Namure: Whiche his dealyng, the said Estates, by their Iustification doe also openly declare, wher- by is found, that many inconueniences, haue thereupō risen. For remedyng whereof, the saied generall Estates haue been verie willyng, by these presentes, to declare and publishe to all and eue- ry person and persones, that thei neuer tooke Don Ihon of Au- striche, to bee his Maiesties Lieutenannt, Gouvernour, nor Cap- taine Generall of the saied Countreys. But alwaies tooke hym to bee a breaker, and alreadye an infringer, of that pacification wherevnto he was swoyne, and an enemye to our Countrey, euer sithence his retraict to Namure aforesaid: And as many as are naturally bozne within thesaid Countreys, beyng his followers, aiders, and abettours, to bee no better, but Rebelles vnto the saied Countreys, and fully and wholly so to be taken, in all places soeuer, and to bee dealt withall in suche maner, bothe in their bodies nad gooddes, as by his Maiesties Proclamation hath been published. Giuen at Bruxelles the 7. of December 1577. And vnderneath was written, By the Ordenaunce of my saied Lordes the generall Estates. *Cornelius Weellmans.*

The 10. of December, the generall Estates of the Lowe Countreys beeyng assembled at Bruxelles, deuised and made an vnion and confederacie, whiche was concluded vpon, the ninth of Ianuary ensuyng, the Copie whereof hereafter followeth.

Alse the Prelates, Churchemen, Lordes, Gentlemen, Iud- ges of the Lawes, Cities, Castle keepers, and others here vnder writtn, representyng the Estates of the lowe Countreys, at this Citie of Bruxelles presently mette together, besides certaine o- thers also, beyng vnder the obedience of the moste high, mightie, and famous Prince, kyng Phillip, our Soueraigne Lorde and naturall Prince, doe all men to vnderstande, bothe now present, and

The vnion
of the gene-
rall Estates.

and hereafter to come, that we, seying our common Countrey to be afflicted by a masse barbarous and tyraunt oppression of Spaniards, haue been stirred vp, and enforced, to unite and ioyne our selues together, and with Armes, Counsell, Pen, and Money, to helpe one another, against the saied Spaniards, and suche their adherentes, as were proclaimed rebelles vnto his Maiestie, and our enemies: and that this vniou and coniunction hath sithence, been confirmed by the laste pacification, altogeter made by the auctoritie and agrement of the Counsaill of Estate, whiche his Maiestie had deputed to the generall Gouvernement of the saied Countreys. And because, the pretended scope and vltte of this vniou, requireth for euer, all fidelitie, constancie, and mutuall assistance, and that we would by no meanes through misundersstanding, that any matter of suspicion should growe thereby, and muche lesse, any finifter will to be founde in any of vs: But contrariwise, to the ende the affaires of this vniou, might, with all sinceritie, fidelitie, and diligence, be pursued, cared for, and executed so that none of the subiectes, and inhabitants of the saied Countreys, might haue any iuste occasion to be discontented, or doubte of vs: for these reasons therfore, and also to the ende, that nothing should, vnfaithfully be doen, to the hurte of the common wealthe of our Countrey, and iuste defence thereof, or any thyng els, by negligence, or dissimulation, to be ouersight, whiche is, or shall be required, for the iuste defence thereof: wee haue by vertue of our auctoritie and Commission, respectiuelly and other wise, bothe for our selues, and our successours, promised, and by the faithe of good Christians, honest men, and true patrones of our Countrey doe promise to holde and keepe, inuiolably and for euer, the saied vniou and fellowship: Without any of our disioyning or separating the same, either by dissimulation, secreete intelligence, or any other maner what so euer, and that, for the conseruation of our holy Faith, the Catholique, Apostolique Romische Religion, and accompyshment of the pacification: And ioynely for the driving out of the Spaniards and their adherentes, and our duetifull obedience vnto his Maiestie: the benefite and quiet of our Countrey: and with all, for the mainteinaunce of all and euery of our Privileges, Rightes, Franchises, Statutes, Customes, and ancient Allocations, of whiche to passe, we will aduen-
ture

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ture and hazarde all the meanes possible wee are able, bothe our
Honey, People, Counsell, and gooddes, yea, our liues and all, if
neede require. And besides, none of vs maie, either in particuler,
giue any counsell, aduise, or consent, nor yet talke secretly or par-
ticulerly, without any whiche are not of this vniõ: nor contrary-
wise, reueale any thyng whiche is or shalbe treated of aduised, or
resolved in, in our assemble to any of theim: but bee conformable
to whatsoeuer our generall and comon resolution shall establishe.
And if so bee, that any Prouince, Estate, Countrey, Citie, Ca-
stle, or House, bee besieged, attempted, inuaded, or oppressed, in
what sort soeuer: and besides, if any of vs, or any others endeavour
to stande for the Countrey, and common defence thereof, against
any of the Spanyardes, or any other affaires dependyng there-
on, as well in generall as in particuler, or hath been hunted after,
imprisoned, ransomed, hindered, molested, or distyrued, in his
persone, gooddes, honour, estate, or otherwise, we promise to as-
siste the same by all the meanes aforesaid, and besides, doe also
promise, to procure the deliuerance of such as are either force-
ably, or other wise imprisoned: vpon paine if we doe not, to bee dis-
graced of all nobilitie, name, Armes, and honour, and to be taken
for peritured and unfaithfull persones, and enemies to our saied
Countrey, before God, and all the worlde, and for euer to bee ac-
counted infamous and cowardes. And for the strengthing of
this our holie vniõ, and brotherly fellowship, we haue subscribed
to these presentes with our owne handes, and sealed the same
with our owne seales, the ninth of January, 1577.

And underneath was sette vnto every mannes signa-
ture by it self.

And underneath theim, this agreement, made by my
Lords the Counsell of Estate.

When the Deputies of the generall Estate aforesaid
hereunto subscribed, the fourth with request to the Coun-
sell of Estate, whom his Maiestie had substituted, to the generall
Gouernement of the Countreys hereabout, that it would please
them to giue their consent, to the contents of the vniõ next be-
foze written, whereupon, the saied Counsell, giuing good care
vnto their saied requeste, and to the reasons aboue mentioned,
Haue

Haue, and dooe; in all, that in theim lieth, agree, and consent, by these presentes, vnto the whole tenure and forme of the saied v-nion. Giuen at Bruxelles in the Tounne house: in the assemblee of the saied Estates, the ninth of Ianuary. 1577.

And vnderneath was witten:

*By the ordenaunce of my saied Lordes of the Counsell
Estate.*

Signed.

Berti.

The 17. date of December 1577. The Prelates of Saincte Gertrude and Parolles, the Duke of Arscot, and the Baron of Frezin, presented vnto the moste famous Archduke Mathias, the Gouvernement of all the lowe Countreys, vpon certaine conditions and Articles, whiche he accepted of, and subscribed vnto.

The Citie of Amstredame, whiche would not acknowledge the Prince to be Gouvernour, as he ought to be, accordyng to the pacification of Gaunt, was, by Colonell Helyng, who very courageously tooke vpon hym the matter, purposed, to bee forcebly surprised and taken. Whiche dealyng, when the Citezens sawe, thei put them selues in Armes, and stood marueilously to their defence, so that the saied Colonell was there slaine in valiaunte fight, and his people presently, driven out of the Tounne.

The 18. of Ianuary 1578. the moste famous Archduke Mathias entred into Bruxelles, where, beeyng the 20. of the saied Moneth solemnely sworne, was with greate Magnificence, appointed Gouvernour of the Lowe Countreys. The Prince also was chosen to bee his Lieutenaunt generall, who taking vpon hym the charge, was likewise sworne.

The same moneth arrived thereabout, the Lorde of Selles, sent from the kyng of Spaine, to aunswere the letters of the Estates, of the 24. of August, and the 8. of September, by whiche thei desired that Don Ihon might bee sent for, home againe, and another gouvernour to be sent in his roome. Then thei beganne to talke with the saied Selles, about the deuising of some meanes for peace: but because the kyng confirmed the saied Don Ihon in Gouvernement, and ratified the warre whiche he had begonne,

The enter-
prise of the
Drenghers
vpon Am-
stredame.

Anno. 1578.
The entrie
of the Arch-
duke into
Bruxelles.

The Baron
of Selles,
sent from the
Kyg.

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all their talke was to no purpose.

**Don Ihon
his victorie.**

The laste daie of January, when the Campe of the Estates remoued, and that Don Ihon, had by his horsemen, broken the arae of the Souldiers, the whole Campe was putte to flight about Giblowe: Wherebyon, the Countrey beeyng greatly amazed, with suche an vnlooked for losse (as in suche distresses commonly commeth to passe) the Eneemie tooke, the townes of Giblowe, Louuaine, Aricot, Tielmont, Diest, and Sichen: And at Sichen, he committed a moste barbarous crueltie, against the Officers of the saied place.

**The Duke
of Aniove
sendeth to
the Estates.**

When the Duke of Aniove vnderstoode of this discomfiture, he sent Gonsler de Fougere and his Secretarie to the Estates, to offer theim his owne persone, and the meanes how to helpe them. Whiche thyng beeyng accepted of, he sent thither the Lordes of Rochepot and Wyneauls, to the meetyng of whom, were sent the Count de Lalayng, the Baron of Frezin, and the Countsellour Leiffeld, Deputies for the generall Estates, aboute the treatie aswell for the aidyng of the Toune of Gissaine, as also for the assuraunce thereof.

Now, after this discomfiture the Toune of Sainct Gissaine, shooke in the shet, and was at the pointe to haue fallen into the handes of Don Ihon, by reason of the Bishopp of Arras his seeret intelligence: Howbeit the Lorde of Heruillart by runnyng, got into it, and so by that meanes frustred this enterpryse, and haueing well provided for the Toune, to the benefite of the Countrey, deliuered it vp into the handes of Count de Lalayng Gouvernor of Hainault the seconde of February 1578.

**Amstere
dame, agreth
with the
Prince of
Orange.**

The 8. of the saied moneth and yere, the Toune of Amstere dame fell to composition with the Prince and Estates of Hollande, and reunited it self, with the reste of the Chies of the saied Countrey, vnder his Excellencies Souuerneiment, vpon certaine pointes and Articles: But because the Catholiques had not obserued the saied Articles of a greement, therof the reformed Religion, sent the old Magistrate and Franciscane Friers out of the Toune, because they would not agree to graunt theim of the reformed Religion any libertie: and besides, they had also broken that pointe of the agreement, whiche was made about the cause of the twoyne men.

As the Spanyardes laie at the siege of Nyuelle, Monsieur de Vilers Gouvernour of the Towne, abode the Canon, and although it was not to holde out, yet he so valiantly helde out forer assaultes, to wit, from twelue of the clocke in the afternoone, vnto seuen of the clocke at night, as that the enemye made his re- traict without order: and after warde, helde it two daies without parle, still lookyng for ayde. In the meane while, the Prince and the Count of Bossu, wrote vnto hym, that he should withdraue hymself with the sautie of his people as well as he could: whiche thynge he did, and departed thence by composition with bodiles, and goodes, swordes, and daggers, and so did likewise, the Capitaines and Chieftaines of the Horsemen, the 15. of February. 1578.

Nyuelle ren- dyeth.

Durynge these exploites, there was an imperiall dyet appointed at Wormes, whether was sent Monsieur Saint Aldegonde Counsaillour for the Estate, by his Excellencie and the Estates, to shewe there, the estate of the affaires hereabout, together for the requityng of ayd from the Empire and Germane Princes, their good Neighbours, as to people, who ought to haue had some see- lyng and compassion of this their greate miserie and calamitie.

An imperiall dyet at Wormes.

The Estates also meanynge to make the same request to the Queene of England, appointed for that purpose the 9. of March, the Marques of Watweche, who so well plied his businesse, as that he obtained at her Maiesties handes assuerance, bothe of men and money, for the aidynge of the saied Estates, who was also greatly honored for his owne priuate cause, and besides, recei- ued at her highnesse handes, a very goodly present.

The Estas- tes request to the Queene of England.

The 21. of Marche, the greate Counsaile of Friselande was taken at Leeward, to witt, the President Vgrammes Achlum, Juliers Dekema, Peter Fritzma, Focco Bommerts, Anthony Leualy, Counsaillours, and many others, and in their steade were appointed newe Counsaillours, to witt, Maister Francis Kysinga, Maister Focco Balda, Maister Ihon de Steueren, and many others. And besides, the chiefe being the Bishoppe of Lee- warde, was sent to the Casle (and also certayne Counsaillours) whiche was taken, and the rest were restrained within their owne houses.

The 7. of Aprill, the yeare aforesaid, seuen of the Wallon Ensigne

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A martyr
amongst some
of the Sould-
diers at Ma-
stricht.

Ensignes, of the nine, whiche laie in Garnison at Mastricht, martyred for their paye, and tooke the Baron of Heze their Colonell, and Gouvernour of the saied Towne prisoner, and all the Captaines, Liutenautes, Ensigne bearers, and Officers of his Regiment: And besides, conspired to deliuer by the Towne into the handes of the Enemye. But after thei had sent Seignour Nicholas Salmer Knight, Lord of Helcrope with the saied payes, and contented the Souldiers, he first of all, released the prisoners, and afterwarde, by his wit and pollicie, became Master of the Conspirators, some of whiche were drowned, and some hanged, and hauyng brought in an other Garnison, was assured thereby of the Towne, in the behalf of the Countrey.

**An ordenaunce
vpon the paci-
fication of
Gauut.**

The 22. of Aprill, there was a newe ordenaunce published at Antwerpe, about the obseruation of the pacification at Sant, and that all the Inhabitautes and Citizens there about, of what estate or condition soeuer thei were, should bee sworn, and as many as refused the same, to be taken for enemies. In so muche that all persones, both Ecclesiasticall and secular tooke the same othe, sauyng the Iesuites: who, because thei would not obeie, were merueilously suspected: by reason whereof, the common people martyred against them. Howbeit, thei were for all that, no waie misused, because of the good order whiche the Colonelles had set in the Towne, saue onely were honestly sent out of the Towne, as well for their priuate assuerance, as also (beyng suspected) for the benefite and sauferie of the Commonweale: whiche thyng was doen vpon Whitsondaie. Then the Friers craued tyme to deliberate vpon: but when thei sawe in the ende, that the rest of the beggyng Friers, Prelattes, Cathedral Churches, and all Ecclesiasticall persones were obedient to the saied commaundement, thei were resolved to doe the like: except the Prior and three others of his Conent, who obstinately stood in it, and therefore were likewise (as men suspected) tourned out of the Towne. Whiles these Friers were deliberatying what to doe, some of the people that were in Armes, beyng not well pleased, went on forwarde with the matter, and would haue enforced them, which their sonde dealing, the Burroughmaister clerely frustred. Next belesse, twoos of the companie beyng Souldiers, so farre forgot them selues, as that thei helde the pointes of their swordes before

**The Ie-
suites, and
Friers goe
out of the
Citie of
Antwerpe.**

before hym, for the whiche thei lost their heades.

The Duke of Aniove, sent his men of warre vnto the Borders of Haynault, where thei were greatly oppressed by the enemye. And the Estates likewise had appointed Colonell Combelle to enter into the saied Countrey, and laie with his people at Leus in Haynault, a Towne of Honfire de Barlaymont: whom the Spanyards commyng to set vpon, were brauely repulled, and iollilie cooled, and therevpon, were enforced to retire the 21. of Maie. 1578.

The men of warre of the Duke of Aniove enter into the Countrey,

After that the Spanyards had long time besieged the Towne of Phillippewille, it was enforced at last, for want of Victualles and Munition, to yeeld vpon composition, the saied 21. of Maie.

Phillippeville, besieged and rendred.

While the Enemye was makyng preparation to besiege Limbourg, the Gouvernour and Souldiers demaunded Victualles and Munition, and promised, that if thei might haue them, to keepe the Towne and Castle. Then the Archduke Mathias and the Estates provided for all thynges necessarie. And yet notwithstanding thei fell to a parle with the Enemye, and yeelded the same place the 15. of June, the yere aforesaid.

Limbourg besieged and rendred.

The Duke of Aniove, for the better accomplishyng of his deuise, came with a small companie to Mons in Haynault, the 11. of Iulie: howbeit, his traine followed hym.

The Almaine Souldiers of the Regiment of Polwoyer, who before the pacification of Gaunt, laie in Garnison in the Countrey of Querypsell, in Campen, and Deuenter, refused to come thence: yea thei so greatly and so long dissembled the matter, as that the saied peace was broken, declaring then, that thei helde the saied Townes for Don Iohn. Whereupon the Estates besieged them, and first, the Count of Rennenberge, Baron of Wille, and Gouvernour of Friselande, who was there named the generall of the fiede, besieged Campen, and because he would lose no tyme, he summoned the Towne: and haupyng refused his offer, made a fearfull batterie, vntill suche tyme as he had made a Breache: howbeit, when the Almaines sawe them readie to giue the assaulte, thei fell to a parle, and in the ende, departed the Towne, the 20. of Iuly in the yere aforesaid.

Campen besieged and rendred.

The Castle of Haurech beyng besieged and battered by the French, on the behalf of the Duke of Aniove, was yeelded vnto the

The Castle of Haureche taken.

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the 26. of Iuly. Howbeit the Spanyardes who were come thether before, for the raising of the siege, were repulled with greate losse of their people. And thesame tyme, had the Duke thruste in a Frenche Garrison into the Townes of Soignie, Hawbuge, and Reulle, whiche the enemie had forsaken.

*The Campe
of the Esta-
tes pitched
nere Rimes-
nant.*

When the Archduke Mathias and the Estates had arered a greate and mightie Armie, vnder the conducte and gouernement of the Count of Borsu, a valiaunt and stoute manne, and verie warlike, he pitched his Campe about Rimenant in Brabande: whether Don Ihon, meanyng to plaie double or quite, came, purposyng to set vpon the Campe. Howbeit this seconde enterpryse had not so good successe as the first: because it coste a greate number of his Spanyardes liues: so that he was enforced, through the notable endeouour and diligence of all those, who the Count had sent to fight to retier, where Maister Morris, Colonell of the Englishmen, and Maister Steward Colonell of the Scottes, haupyng resisted, and pursued the greatestt force of the enemie, shewed theim selues so valiaunt in Armes, and warlike feates, and so couragious and stoute, as that they carried awaie the whole praise and commendation of this victorie, whiche was wone the first of August 1578.

*in 2 fl
ovv 15*

*in 2 fl
ovv 15*

Bonsire de la Noue, one of the valiaunttest Captaines that euer was in our daies accompted, and in France, moste famous for his notable deedes of Armes, was sent by the Estates, to be Marshall of the fielde, who acceptyng of this charge, came to Antwerpe, to the greate contentation of all the men of warre.

*A Tumult
pacified at
Valencia.*

In August the yere aforesaid, Signiour Archies, beyng by his highnesse and the Counsell of Estate, sent to Valencia, to make inquisition about certain particuler matters, concerning the common benefite of the said Citie, there arose a greate vyroze and controuer sie emongest the common people: the one side takyng parte with the said Archies, and the other with the Magistrat, for remedyng and appaisyng whereof, his highnesse sent thether Seignieur Richardot one of the priuie Counsell, a verie learned man, accompanied with an other Commissioner, where, through his mediation, after many conferences had, there was a common and generall assemblie of the people held, so that the 17. of August, those troubles were appaised, and the Citezens there-
vpon

upon went forthwith, euery man vnder his Ensigne, puttyng of their Armour and weapon, after thei had kept watche and ward eight daies and nightes together, one against an other, not without the greate daunger and hazard, of a miserable and lamentable effusion of blood.

The Generall Estates meanyng to dooe all thynges for the best, thei, to the ende thei might repulse the enemye with the greatest force, treated with the Duke of Aniove about that matter. The Duke bounde hym self to leaue tenne thousande footemen, and two thousande horse, at his owne coste and charge, for the space of thre monethes, and that tyme beeyng expired, and the warres not ended, that he would continue to aide them with thre thousande Souldiers, and five hundred Horse, and manifest hym self an enemye to Don Alon and his adherentes, whereupon, the Estates named hym the defendour of the Countrey, promisyng further to preferre hym to all the reste, if so bee thei were enforced to chaunge their Lorde and Prince, giuyng him besides, the Duchie of Luxembrough, and the Countie of Bourgundie, and for the sautie of his people, and hymself, the Countes of Landersey, Quelinoy, and Bauais, besides many other Articles contained in the accord for that behalfe, made and published at Antwerpe, in the presence of the Prince, the Estates, and Ambassadors of the saied Duke, the 29. of August 1578.

An accorde
with the
Duke of
Aniove.

for Duke of
Aniove named
defendour of the
Countrey

As the Campe of the Estates laie aboute twoo Myles from Louuaine, Count Bossu departed thence, with twoo thousande Harquebouziers and two thousande Horse, and commyng nere to Louuaine where the Enemye was, either parte shooke of their shotte, and coupled them selues together in a brane Skirmishe. The Vicount of Gaunt and Lanowa, charged the Enemye with the men at Armes, and chased them harde vnto the Rampars sides of the Towne, so that some of their Tippettes were there turned by, and so were diuers of the Frenche likewise. The saied Count had a greate desire to besiege this Towne, but because he wanted thre or fower thousande pponers, and thirtie, or fortie Canons, for the winnyng of so greate and large a Towne, well furnished with five thousande Souldiers, he left of his enterpryse, as a thyng deuoid of all reason.

A Skirmishe
hard by Louuaine.

The saied Army drawing towards Champaine, tooke the
Castles

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Castles of Hote, and Sart: the first, by assault, after it had bene once summoned by the Canon, and the other by Composition. For, Genap and Muelles yeeled them selues without the summons of the Canon.

A supplication exhibited for the haupng of the exercise of the Religion.

Thei of the reformed Religion, exhibited a supplication for the haupng of publique exercise, but especially, þ Antwerpians, first desired of Archduke Mathias his excellencie, and Counsaile of Estate, certaine Churches: whiche request, greatly amazed the Lordes: Howbeit, the Suppliauntes were so many in number, and so importunately brged the matter, as that when his highnesse had asked counsell of the generall Estates, it was thought to be necessarie for the common quiet, and preuentpng of all inconuenience, to graunt them the Castle Chappell (named the Hoabites, because the Spanyards built it) the Iesuites Church, half of the Friers Franciscanes Church, of the Iacobines, and Saint Andrewes: so that by licence, the publique Sermons began the last of August 1578. And afterwarde through the continuall exhibitpng of Supplications of all the lowe Countreys, the peace of Religion, or free libertie of the Religion was permitted and proclaimed, the Copie whereof ensueth.

The peace of Religion.

It is knowne to all menne, that the tyrannous Commis-sioners long sithence, Proclaimed aboute the cause of Religion, by the perswasion, counsell, and aduise of Straungers, especially of the Spanishe nation, without hearpng of the Estates of the Countrey in that behalfe, and besides, beepng with mosste intollerable crueltie, entertained and obserued, haue been, and presently are, the verie originall of all the controuersies emongest vs, considering, that by those occasions, the Privileges, Lawes, and laudable Customes, are sondrie waies broken, and troad vnder foote, and lastly, by the enemies of our Countreys, haue caused mosste lamentable warre to bee, beganne to our vtter esclauishpng and destruction for ever. And therefore, none other remedie could bee had about this matter, but the makpng of an alliance and confederacie, betwixt all the said Provinces hereabout, and therevpon proceeded the pacification of Gaurt, whiche, after many deliberations and consultations about the same, was aswell by the Bishoppes, Diuines, as also the Counsell of Estate, and others here about, approued, confirmed, and by a solempne oth openly sworne,

not

not onely by the Ecclesiasticall, and Temporall, Estates, of these Lowe Countreys, bothe generally and particularly, but also by Don Ihon, whose office chiefly was, as one substituted to the gouernement and good direction of the saied Lowe Countreys, to se them to bee kept in peace and tranquillitie: But he contrariwise, hath in many pointes enfrenge the said pacification, and against his othe, many waies declared, hym self not to bee willng to stande thereto: So that, he a newe beganne the foresaied warre, whiche hath enforced vs to stand for the conseruation, and defense of our naturall libertie, and ioyntly, againe to take Armes vpon vs, beeyng also thereby, and through other greate extremities, wherevnto the saied warre, the mother of all dissentions, and inconueniences, hath brought vs, and against our willes and meanynge, enforced vs to dooe and suffer, many thynges, hurtfull bothe to Religion, and also to his Maesties obedience, beeyng suche thinges, as other wise, we neuer once minded or thought on, and whiche at this p[re]sent we are no waie able to helpe, as often tymes before this warre beganne, wee haue sufficiently shewed and protested, as well by our letters, as also by our Ambassadors, sent, bothe to his Maestie, and likewise to the saied Don Ihon, And although it were so, that wee neither could nor would want any thyng that might defende vs, yet because the diuersitie of the Prouinces, and mennes opinions, doe make little accompte hereof, it is to be doubted, that neither our will nor abilitie may any waie remeady it, without wee entre ioyntly into an other League, and an inuiolable accord and vniõ, but especially in respect of the Religion. For, seying that not onely by reason of the warre, but also because of the ineuitable haunting and conseruation of the Marchauntes, and the reste of the Enhabitauntes of the Realmes, and Countreys nere aboute, as Fraunce, Englande, Germanie, and others, who haue accepted of the pretended reformed Religion, whiche saied Religion, many of the Countreys here aboute haue followed, and sticketh nere their hartes: It is greatly to be feared, that if the exercise thereof bee not by a iourning accord and Religious, permitted, as well as the auncient Religion, takyng example bothe by Germanie and Fraunce, whiche by the like meane were brought to an vnitie, whereby thei haue liued in peace and prosperitie, where before,

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thei could not abide one an other, but were still at mortall warr, so that for want thereof ensued greate daungers, sheadyng of blood, and many other inconueniences: by whiche, a meane shall more and more be laied open, and giuen to the enemy, for vs that still remaine in the Countreys, where contrariwise, we alliyng and confederatynge together in an amiable vnitie, maie defende our selues fro all imminent inconueniences, and feare. All which thynges, duely and truely considered, but especially the matter whiche the enemy least feareth, whiche is, our vnitynge of our selues together in the respect of Religion, and therefore will by all meanes possible, vnder couler thereof, keepe vs still at variance and dissention. And if it so fall out, that, by semister practises, subtil inuentions, or forcibly, he enter into the Countreys, he will neither spare Ecclesiasticall person, Catholique, nor no manne els. And where also, thei of the reformed Religion, haue been moste instant suters, and made many requestes to haue the free exercise hereof graunted theim, with and vnder suche rule and order, as shall thereto appertaine: wee therefore, afore wee had thoroughly considered of this point, not onely with the Deputies of the generall Estates, but also of the particuler, and haue heard the mundes of the Estates of eche Province, haue, for their common quiet and benefite, ordained and appointed, and by these presentes, doe ordaine, and appoint these Articles ensuyng: whiche wee haue sette doune for the good, and vnion, of the Provinces hereabout: And are not to bee altered, nor separated one from an other: Chiefly considerynge, that no man is enforced to chaunge his Religion, no, yet accept of this libertie, if he thinke it not good.

1 It is ordeined, that all offences, and iniuries whiche haue been committed, sithence the saied pacification of Gaunt, about the cause of Religion, shall be pardoned and forgotten, as though thei had neuer been: In so muche, that no man shall bee accused, nor yet by Lawe sued, or otherwise, for any of them: neither shall there be any mention once made of them, vpon paine of punishing the Transgressors, as infringers and disturbers of the common quiete of the Countreys.

2 To the ende, that according hereunto, in respect of the Religion (whiche can, neither by force of Armes bee entertained, planted,

planted, nor suppressed) there arise no quarrell, nor dissention: It is established and ordeined, that euery man whiche is, of either of those two Religions, maie be at his free choise so to vie them, as that one of them giue no occasion of offence to an other about the same, as thei will aunswere before God: but that euery man, whether he be Ecclesiasticall or Temporal, shall liue quietly with his owne Religion, and serue God accordyng to his understanding and knowledge, as he will aunswere at the dreadfull daie of Dome. at least so farre forth, and till suche tyme, as either partie shalbe freely heard before a Generall or prouinciall Counsell, and that therein, it bee otherwise determined and concluded vpon.

3 To the ende also, that the libertie of the Religion, bee for either party ruled ouer with conuenient and peaceable conditions to both their quietnesses and assuraunce: It is ordeined, that the Catholique Romishe Religion, shall bee redressed aswell in the Cities and places of Holland and Sealand, as also in all the rest of the Cities and places hereabout, where it is banished, and there to be peaceable and freely exercised, without troubling or vexing of any of them, whiche shall desire to haue it: so that there bee not vnder an hundred householdes, either in Citie or Towne, whiche haue continually remained and dwelt there, at the least an whole yeare, and the same there aboade, so to be certified, by the greater parte of the common Inhabitauntes.

4 And so maie likewise, the saied reformed Religion be publickly exercised, in all the Cities and places hereabout, where there shall also bee founde the like number by the Inhabitauntes of the saied Cities and places.

5 Provided alwaies, that thei bothe of the one and of the other Religion, shall come before the Magistrate, where either of them shall respectiuelly require the exercise of their interlaced Religion, who shall forthwith appoint them meete places: To witt, there shall be appointed out for them of the Romishe Religion, bothe in Holland and Sealand, suche Churches and Chapelles as shall be thought meete, for them, there to be had, and for want of sache, thei shall bee appointed certaine places, where thei had been before tyme, and there the Catholiques shall haue full power to build vp again, their ruined Churches and Chapples:

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And in the rest of the Prouinces, thei shall haue suche places, as the Magistrate shall assigne them: howbeit, thei shall bee a good distaunce of, from the Churches of the Catholiques, if it maie possibly bee brought so to passe, to the ende there might no quarrelles arise amongst them, by reason of their ouer nere standyng together, as commonly hath been scene come to passe.

6 That euery of them shall respectiue ly accordyng to the custome, obserue, heare, and celebrare their diuine Seruice, Sermons, Prayers, Syng, Baptize, administer the Supper, Burie, Marrie, keepe Schooles, and whatsoeuer thynges els respectiue ly appertainyng to their Religion.

7 If any of them shall priuately exercise their Religion, the same persone shall not be ferited nor troubled any maner of way, although it be doen at home in his owne house.

8 Wee expressely forbydd all those bothe of the one and other Religion, vpon the paines aforesaid, of what estate, condition, or qualitie soeuer thei are, not to trouble nor molest one the other, either in word or deede, in respect of their Religion, or in any thing dependyng thereon, nor yet giue offence one to an other about the same.

9 We will that euery man abstaine from going to the place, where any other Religion then his owne is exercised, were it not for none other cause but to keepe hymself from giuyng of offence, and liue accordyng to the statutes and ordenances of those Churches whereof he is a member, vpon the paine aforesaid.

10 It shall be lawfull for all Friers, Religious men, and all other Ecclesiasticall persons, freely and without molestation, enioye all his goodes, tenthes, and other rightes.

11 This shall not bee hurtfull to the Prouinces of Hollande and Sealande, as concernyng the goodes of any Ecclesiasticall persone there, but shall liue accordyng to the 21. Article of the pacification of Sant, vntill suche tyme as the generall Estates shall haue set some other order therein.

12 For the auoidyng of all quarrelles, we forbydd all slanderous Songes, Ballades, or other Libelles, and infamous wrytynges to bee openly sung, and caried abroad, neither yet to haue them to bee printed, or solde, either by the one side or by the other.

13 Wee forbydde all Ministers, Readers, or others, whiche speake

speake or preache publicly, of what Religion soeuer thei be, to vse any speeches or reasons, tending to dissention or breeding of troubles, but honestly and modestly behaue them selues, speaking nothyng but that whiche shall be to the edifying of the Auditory, vpon the paines aforesaid.

14 We moreouer, forbidde vpon the like paines, all Souldiers, of what Religion so euer thei be, to beare aboute theim any deuises or toyes, whereby thei maie prouoke one an other to dissention and quarrellyng.

15 That thei whiche are of the saied Religion, aswell in Holland and Sealande, as els where, shall be bounde to obserue all the lawes and obseruaunces of the Catholique Churche, about the makynge and contractyng of Mariages, in respect of the degrees of Consanguinitie and Affinitie. Provided alwaies, that as concernyng Mariages already contracted in the third or fourth degree, thei of the saied Religion shall not bee molested, nor the force of the said Mariage brought in question, ne yet the childe bozne in the saied mariage, to bee deprived of their succession and inheritaunce.

16 Provided alwaies, that no Spirituall affinitie, shall any waie hurtfull to the mariages.

17 Neither shall there bee any more difference or distinction made, in the respect of Religion, for the entertaynyng of Schollers, sicke, and poore persones, into any Uniuersitie, College, Schoole, Hospital, Spittle, then into common Almes houses, or other wise.

18 That thei of the Religion without Holland and Sealande, shall bee bounde to obserue all the holy daies, whiche the Catholique Romishe Churche hath appointed to bee kept holy: To witte, all Sondaies, Christmas daie, the Feastes of the Apostles, the Annunciation, Assumption, and Purification of our Ladie, and Corpus Christie daie. Neither shall thei worke, sell, nor open their shoppes on those daies.

19 That vpon those daies wherein the saied Churche hath forbidden eatyng of fleshe, no Butcher shall sell any of his wares, but euery man, duetifully liue accordyng to the ordinaunce of eche place.

20 And for the better vniytyng and agreeyng together of the

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Subiectes hereabout, we pronounce, that suche bothe of the one Religion and the other, as are meete to beare office, shall holde, enioye, and exercise all offices and Estates, as well of Justice as otherwise, without exactyng of those of the reformed Religion, any other othe, then they are already sworne vnto, nor yet to bee bounde to any other dueties, but well and faithfully exercise their Estates and Offices, and obserue the Ordinaunces in this behalfe made and agreed vpon.

21 And because the administration of Law and Justice, is the mosse principall meane, to keepe Subiectes in peace and concord: And yet the same, neuer thelesse, what through the diuersitie of Religions, and otherwise, is in many suppressed, to the greate oppressing and wrongyng of Innocentes, and others whiche require the Lawe: For the better helpyng whereof, as also for the suppressyng of all sleaunders, whiche at this daie beare too too greate a swaie, all Magistrates and Judges are forbidden from hence forth, to laie holde vpon any priuate person, or to take any man, without the obseruation of these three accustomed meanes: To wit, the one, that the partie be presently taken with the committynge of the fault, or at the appointement of the Judge, or els, where on the contrary partie, the same is caused to be set doune in writyng.

22 And the persones, whiche are by any of these thre meanes taken, to bee forthwith sent, and deliuered up, into the power of their lawfull Judge, for to be examined vpon the facts or factes and therevpon, the Lawe to be pronounced accordingly.

23 But to the ende, that all the euill humours of Commonwealthes, might be the better purged and expelled, it shall be lawfull for euery man, although it touche not his owne particuler harme, to accuse an other whatsoeuer he bee, so that it bee doen vpon Justice and due information, and before a lawfull Judge: and the said partie complainant to be bounde, that he shall within viii. daies, or rather, according to the custome of the place shall asorde, sende for the partie accused before the Justice and afterward, with all diligence proceed, either to condemning or acquitting, as shall be thought, by good Lawe and Justice bee doen.

24 Neuer thelesse, it shall not bee lawfull for any manne, to sleaunder one an other, or lightly, and without good ground accuse
rule

cuse one an other, neither yet empaire the good name and fame of one an other, vpon the paine aboue saied.

25 And for the due execution, as well of matters of life and death as ciuile, and the reasonable satisfiing of euery man: It is ordeined, that all Lawes and Magistrates of perticuler Cities, Castles, Townes, and Manors of all the Countreys hereabout, shall be chosen to be suche men as are best qualified, and louers of their Countrey, without difference of Religion.

26 Which Lawes and Magistrates shall entermeddle them selues onely, and altogether in the state of Justice, Pollicie, or Gouvernement of those Cities and places where thei are chosen.

27 That no man shall herein, any waie, hinder, trouble, or let them, nor by any meanes haue to doe with them, in any matter, or vnder any colour whatsoeuer.

28 And seeyng that in this behalfe, there haue of late newe Magistrates been chosen, thei whiche are called the eightene, or others whiche are appointed in their steades, whether thei bee moe, or fewer, shall fully and wholie be deposed, and forbidden to thrust them selues in about any dealynge of the publique affaires, nor yet with the fortesifing and guardyng of any of the Cities, except thei bee especially chosen and deputed thereto by the saied Magistrates.

29 And as concernyng this point, thei maie not set doune any order of importaunce, without thei first talke thereof with those Magistrates of the Cities, where thei are appointed to deale, and that, by thei expresse appointment, vpon the paines aforesaid.

30 And to the ende, that this our ordenaunce might the better bee obserued: the Commissioners, and the rest of the Deputies, or suche as haue auctoritie to chose newe Magistrates, shal substitute sower notable, vertuous, and well qualified persones, who vppon all occasions, without exception, maie, by vertue of their Office, make inquisition of the infrinyng and crossyng of the saied Ordenaunce: and the same so made, to sett it doune in writyng, and thre of their handes at the least, to be at it, and immediatly to bee deliuered vp into the handes of the Magistrate, and he haupyng taken a sommary knowledge thereof, to proceede against the transgressors with speedie execution, vpon the paines

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aforesaid.

31 Provided alwaies, that the Office of the said notable and vertuous men, shall last but one yeare, and bee newe chosen and chaunges with the Magistrate.

32 And by reason that the disobedience of certaine Cities hereabout against their Magistrate, giueth occasion of greate distrust, hauyng partly euen vnto this present, hindred the permission of the libertie of the Religion, and that, without the sinceritie of the said obedience, there can no good grounde of any assu-
raunce be looked for: It is therefore enacted, ordeined, and accorded, that not onely all Magistrates, but also all others, of what estate, qualitie, or condition soeuer thei are, shall from henceforth be bounde to obeye and followe, all the Ordenaunces, Commis-
sions, Letters, and Commaundementes, aswell of the said Archduke his hignesse, bepng Gouvernour and Captaine Generall, as also of the said Lordes the generall Estates, bothe for the leui-
yng, dischargyng, entertaynyng, and wagynge, of men of Warre and Garnisons, and shall also, accordyng to the custome and man-
ner of a Gouvernour and Captaine, receiue, and paie out, all suche sommes of money as are meete for the maintenaunce of this pre-
sent Warre, and generally for all thynges els.

33 And all Prisoners without exception of any, of what qual-
itie or condition soeuer thei bee, and where soeuer thei are kept,
shall, forthwith bee brought to the Lawe, before their ordenarie
Judge: or for want hereof, to be released vnder suche conditions,
as for the Common wealth, the sauetie bothe of them selues and
Countrey, shall be thought conuenient, vpon paine that the offen-
ders bothe in generall and perticuler, shall be left to them selues,
as enemies and disturbers of the Common wealth, and their
goodes to be bestowed vpon the necessitie of the rest in generall.

34 Provided alwaies, that if so bee any reasonable causes,
maie be shewed, why menne should not forthwith be bound to o-
beye the aforesaid Ordenaunces, Letters, and Commaunde-
mentes, that then the execution of theim to bee deferred (in case
the matter be able to abide any delaye) vntill suche tyme, as v-
pon the receipt of a gentle and reuerend aunswere backe again,
some other order be taken therein.

35 And the same seconde Ordenaunce and Commaunde-
ment,

ment, euery man shall bee bounde to obeye, without further repliing or delaye.

36 All this to bee doen, without hurt to the Priuiledged, and laudable Customes, or Orders of eucry of the saied Prouinces, whiche are still in their full force and strength, notwithstanding this Ordennaunce, by whiche, wee meane not, any waie to derogate, from the saied Priuileges.

Alwaies reserupng to his highnesse, and the generall Estates, and to either of them, the interpretation, declaration, diminution, augmentation, or chaunge of this ordennaunce, and eucry parte and parcell of the same, as to the welfare and peace of the Countrey, hereafter shall be founde to appertaine.

And for a full confirmation and assuraunce of all that hath been before saied, the high and mightie Princes, willingly, and in good earnest, haue comprised themselves within this treatie, whiche Princes, and either of them, haue, as a warraunt and pledge of their fidelitie, as well on the one part as the other, and for a full accomplishment, and settled obseruation, of whatsoeuer hath been abouesaid, promised and sworne in the woordes of a Prince, and by the faith and Religion whiche thei receiued at their Baptisme, to defend, warraunt, & make restitution, both on the one side and on the other, vnto him whosoeuer he be, that shall finde hymself hereafter to bee endomaged, in what maner soeuer, either in parte or in all, by the breakyng or crossyng of that whiche heretofore hath been saied. And will also, if it be possible, singularly protecte the Prelates, and all other Ecclesiasticall persones, so that thei shall not any waie be molested or troubled, either in their persones, exercises of their said Religion, neither yet in the peaceable posselssyng and enioyng either of their Tithes, or whatsoeuer gooddes and possessions els.

And this, is bothe by the Counsell of Estate, and also of the general Estates of the Countreys hereabout, assembled at Antwerpe, deuised and decreed the 12. of July 1578.

After the publication of this peace of the Religion, the reformed Religion was publickly vled in many Cities of the low Countreys, but especially at Leeward in Friselande, was the first Sermon, that was openly preached, the 13 of August 1578 in the Iacopines Church, euen by the consent of the Fricks

Publicke
preachyng
throughout
all the lowe
Countreys.

Se.v.

them

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themselues, that were owners of the saied Church.

The Cities of Quesiroy and Landercy, whiche the Estates had promised to Monsieur Duke of Aniove, would not receiue in, the French, but refused them. And thereupon the Abbot of Marolles was sent, to see if he could cause them to graunt vnto it, howbeit it was to no purpose: And therefore the said Duke required to haue some other places.

The Emperour beeyng greeued, in weighyng and considering of the miserie and warre hereabout, sent the Count of Swertsenbergh to the Estates, offeryng them, if it were possible, to agree them with their kyng, and to be an intercessour for them: yea, and promised further, all the aide and seruice he was able to make and doe for that purpose. The French kyng also by Monsieur de Balenre, and the Queene of Englande, by the Lorde Cobham, and Maister Secretarie Walsingham, of her Maiesties priuie Counsell, beyng sent all at one tyme to his highnes, to Monsieur the Prince, and to the Estates, made the same declaration and offer, whiche was, to goe to Don Ihon, to heare hym speake of that, whiche thei pretended to gett of hym: whiche thyng thei did, and so tooke their iourney towarde him, carryng with them, the Articles of the Estates, and thei were all so foreward in their businesse, as that the Deputies on either side mette at Louaine. And as thei had brought the matter to a ioylly forewardnesse, the kyng wate to Don Ihon to leaue of that matter, and put it into the Emperours handes: Whereupon, euery manne retourned from whence he came, without any forewardnesse or conclusion of the thyng. And this matter bega to be treated of in the latter ende of August, and ended in the beginning of September 1578.

Duke Casimere hauyng rested hymself for a tyme, in the Countrey of Zurphen, about the musteryng of his men, to witte, vii. thousande footemen, wherof fower thousande, were French shotte, and sixe thousande horse, arriued in Brabande, and ioyned hymself with the Estates the 26. of August.

Certaine Prelates, and Gentlemen of the Countrey of Groenyng, who were kept in prison in Groenyng, seeyng, that thei could not bee released by any of the chief Lordes letters, to witte, neither by his highnesse excellencie, and Estates, neither yet

The Emperour, the French king, and the Queene of Englande, sende their Ambassadors to the Estates.

Casimere ioyneth hymself with the Camp of the Estates.

yet by the Commissioners, whiche were expressly sent thether, founde the meane to make an escape, and the 17. of September, thei by a deuise, got awaie, saupng three Prelates, and three gentlemen, who durst not put it in suche an aduventure, because thei feared to bee surprisid in their departure. For, there was greate partialitie betweene the Citie of Groenynge, and the Countrey men, by reason of certain Rightes and Priuiledges whiche was the cause that thei were taken prisoners. Thei called also to remembraunce, that the Nobilitie had heretofore armed them selues against the Citie, and had leuied and gotten together menne of warre, whom, the Citezeins of Groenynge, draue out of the Castle of Couerden, and tooke Bartholmewe Euynts their Captaine prisoner, who was afterward released.

Certaine
prisoners es-
scape from
Groenynge.

So soone as the force of Monsire the Duke of Aniove, was gotten into the Countreis, he besieged the Citie of Bins, which, beyng well battered with tenne Canons, and sixe Serpentes, rendred the 7. of October, at the discretion of the saied Duke, who pardonyng the Souldiers, put his owne people in Garrison.

Bins taken
by the Duke
of Aniove.

The first of October, Don Ihon dyed of the Pestilence in his Campe whiche laie hard by Namure, in whose steade, came Alexander the Prince of Parma, vnto whom, the whole Campe swore their obedience and fidelitie 1578.

The death of
Don Ihon.

Prince of Pa

The 15. of October, the yere aforesaid, at Leeuward in Friseland, in the Church called Nieuwehoue, and in the Franciscanes Church, were all the Images broken in peeces, whiche were afterwarde restored by the Letters of the Lientenant the Count Rennenberge.

The 17. of October 1578. the Magistrate of Arras, was by some of the Citezens, and with the helpe of Captaine Ambrose, and his people, taken and kept in the Towne house, whiche came by reason of a certaine Rumour that was there sowne abroade, that he had receiued certaine intelligence from the Enemy. Howbeit, the 21. of the saied Moneth, the people deliuered hym: and some others were clapt by in prison, parte of whiche were afterwarde executed, and parte banished.

The Magi-
strate of Arras,
clapt in
prison.

Now, when the Sautois had giuen out all their Churchmen, and broken doune all the Images in their Churches, because that Don Ihon and his Adherentes had broken the pacifi-

The origi-
nall of the
Malcontentes

ration

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Montigni
taketh Me-
nin.

Deuenter
besieged and
rendred.

The Prince
of Orange,
goeth to
Gaunt.

The death
of the Count
Bos.

cation of Gaunt : certaine Wallon Ensignes, vnder colour of their paye, and the restorpng of Gaunt vnto the Romishe Religion, shewed them selues Malcontentes, willing that the Ecclesiasticall persones should bee restored to the possession of their goodes, and that the Prisoners which were kept in Gaunt, from the 20. of October 1577. should bee released: Wherevpon also, thei tooke the Citie of Menin: who, after thei had therein fortified them selues, and their number encreased, their Chieftaine the Lorde Montigni and thei together, beganne to make open warre vpon Gaunt, for the reasons aforesaid: But Duke Casimere beyng sent for, came with certaine Bandes of Boyters to the ayde of Gaunt, without makpng the Estates priuie thereto.

The Almaines that were besieged in the Citie of Deuenter, stood to the defence thereof, so long as was possible: yea euen vnto the 20. of Nouember, and untill suche tyme, as that Count Rennenberge Baron de Uille, had thre whole daies together lyen beatpng at it with the force of the Canon, by whiche meane thei were constrained to render it vppon Composition, as thei of Campen had doen before.

After Sainct Aldegonde, and soone after hym, certaine others were sent to Gaunt, to decide the quarrell betweene them and the Wallons: howbeit, thei founde those matters growne to suche a point, and the parties so well flesht, as that men iudged, it to bee most necessaric for the Prince to goe thither, for the appasing of them, who, to that ende tooke his iorney the 24. of Nouember 1578.

The first of December, the yere aforesaid, the Count Swertsenbergh the Emperour his Ambassadoz, was sent againe to the Estates, with the aduise of the Emperour, and of the Electors, about the last treatie of peace, and therevpon demaunded an answer from the Estates, with the whiche, he was forthwith charged, and all, by reason of the great affection whiche he had, about the suppressyng of this warre, and the restorpng of this miserable lowe Countreis to vnitie and peace, with the Prince of Parma.

The 21. of this Moneth, the Lord Maximilian, Count Bos. su Captaine generall of the Campe for the Estates, Lorde great Maister of his highnesse household, and a Counsaillour of the Estate,

state, dyed in Antwerpe, of an hot burnyng Feuer, to the greate sorrowe and grieffe, not onely of all the Souldiers, but also of all the Lordes of the Countreys, and people in generall.

The 25. of December, Monsire the Duke of Aniove, defender of the libertie of the low Countreys, sent, by Maister Dampmartin vnto the Estates, what the cause was, of his retournyng into Fraunce, and of the forsakynge of the lowe Countreys, and amongst other thynges, he wrote vnto them, of the lounge request of the Kyng his Brother: by reason of an vyprope that arose in Fraunce: So that hereby, some bodie had perswaded the people, that his presence was an hinderaunce to the generall peace of the lowe Countreys, and besides, that he went about none other thyng, but to make hym self Lord and Maister of all the Cities hereabout: whiche his dealyng, he forsooth, would aswell as he could, needes excuse: sayng, that it was utterly vntreue, and his reason was, because that at his departure, he rendred by all thynges into the handes of the Estates: further offryng, that wheresoever he became, he would alwaies remaine their good frende: and so takynge his leaue, required, that thei would in regarde hereof, be myndfull of the greate charges he had beene at, for the aidynge of them, leaupyng with the saied Estates, Maister Pruneaur, as his Ambassadour lpdger.

The Duke of Aniove, returneth in to Fraunce.

The Estates, greatly marueilyng, at this his so sudden and vnlooked for departure, dispatched Seigniour Froymont, and Gyles Martin a Doctoz of the Ciuile Lawe, and Secretarie of the Citie of Antwerpe towarde the saied Duke, to declare vnto hym, how greatly thei had weighed and considered of his departure, beseechyng hym to take suche a course, as that he might still remaine hereabout, and acknowledgyng the benefites, whiche thei had receiued by hym, offered hym all their seruice, with promise of suche satisfaction and contentation, as was meete for one in so high a callynge.

The Estates sende thanks to the Duke of Aniove

Now, the Prince of Orange had so well and wisely handled his matters at the Citie of Gaunt, as that the peace of the Religion, was there proclaimed, the 27. of December 1578. and with all, certaine other Articles, concernyng the Ceremonies of the Romishe Religion.

The 29. of January 1579. The Estates of Hollande and Sealande,

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Sealande, Utright, Gelderlande, Friselande, and the reste of the Prouinces wisely consideryng, that the Enemie went about, to dismember the Prouinces, as hereafter you shall heare, and that the Malcontentes were very foreward in the suppressing of those of the reformed Religion, fell to a conclusion of a farre better vnion at Utright, the tenure whereof, hereafter ensueth.

The vnion
of Utright.

Wee hauing by wofull and lamentable experience founde out, that sithence the pacification of Gaunt (by whiche all the Prouinces of the Lowe Countreys, sufficienly bounde them selues, to aide one an other, bothe with their bodie and goods, for the driuyng out of these Countreys, the Spanyardes, and other Foraine nations, with all their adherentes) the Spanyardes, with Don Ihon of Austrie, and the reste of their Chieftaines, and Captaines, haue hunted, and still by all meanes possible doe daieily hunte after the saied Prouinces, as well whollie as in parte, for the bynyng of them vnder their subiection, tyrannicall gouernement, and sclauerie: And bothe by armes and practizes to dismember the saied Prouinces, and make the vnio, whiche was made sithence the saied Pacification, of none effect, to the vtter ruine and desolation of the saied Countreys, whiche wee in deede haue founde, not long sithence, by their perseuerance in their saied purposes, though the soliciting of certaine Cities and places, by their letters, as, the Countrey of Gelderlande, and the surpysing of others by Armes: And therefore all thei of the Duchy of Gelderlande, and of the Countrey of Zutphen, and all thei of the Countreys of Hollande and Sealande, Utright, and the Countreys about Friselande, beyng betweene the Riuer of Ems and Lauwers, haue thought it bothe good and profitable, to binde and vnite them selues together more nely, and particularly, not that thei meane to cutt them selues off from the saied generall vnion, that was made by the Pacification of Gaunt: but to be thereby a greate deale the stronger, and prouide against all inconueniences wherevnto thei might fall, though the Stratagemes, enterprises, or force of the Enemie, and vnderstande how and in what sorte, the foresaied Prouinces might behaue them selues in suche occurrences, and so defende themselves against the power of the Enemie: And for the apoynting

dyng of a further separation of the saied *Provinces*, and the particular members of the same, leauyng still the saied generall *Union* and *Pacification* of *Gaunt* in full strength and vertue, are accordyng therunto, by the *Deputies* of the saied *Provinces*, fully by theirs respectiuey aucthorised to the same, agreed and concluded vpon the poyntes and articles ensuyng, not meanyng thereby, whatsoeuer shall otherwise fall out, to separate theim selues from the holy *Romische Empire*.

I And first it is agreed and concluded vpon, that the saied *Provinces*, shall binde, confederate, and vnite them selues together, and by these presentes doe binde, cōfederate, and vnite them selues for euer, to holbe together, euery maner of waie, as if they were but one onely *Province*, without also, for euer to separate, deuide, or cut of theim selues one from an other, either by will, graunt, alteration, contracte, treatie of peace, or of marriage, nor yet for any other occasion whatsoeuer that might happen, and to vphold and maintaiue, the *Priviledges*, *Fraunchises*, *Exemptions*, *Lawes*, *Statutes*, laudable and auncient *Customes*, *Usances*, and whatsoeuer either especiall or particular *Rights*, of euery *Province*, particular *Cities*, and all the members and inhabitauites of the same: and none of theim to hurte and hinder one an other, but rather aide and helpe one an other by all the meanes possible they can, yea (if neede bee) mainteine, confirme, strengthen, garde and defende one an other, bothe with their bodies and gooddes, against all and euery persone and persones, whether it bee man or woman, whiche shall goe about, in deede, any waie to infringe theim: *Provided* alwaies, that the controversies that are, or hereafter maie be, betwene some of the saied *Provinces*, members, or *Cities* of this *union*: as touching their particular and speciall *Priviledges*, *Fraunchises*, *Exemptions*, *Lawes*, *Statutes*, *Laudable*, and auncient *Customes*, *Usances* and other *rights*, shalbe decided by the ordinarie course of law, arbitrement, or frendly agreement, and none of the other *Countries* and *Provinces*, *Cities* or members of any of them (so lōg as either partie is contented to submit hym self to the law) once to haue to doe with them, without it shalbe their pleasures, to go frendly betwene them, for the makyng of a louyng and peaceable accorde.

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2 Item, for the conformyng and accomplisshyng of the said vni-
on and confederacie, the said Prouinces shalbe bound, to aide
one an other, bothe with their bodies, goodes, and blood, against
all the force and violence that any waie mate be offered them, vn-
der the colour and name of his Maiestie, or in his behalfe, whe-
ther it be by reason of the Pacificatio made at Cant, or because
thei tooke armes vpon them against Don Ihon of Austrich, re-
ceiued Archduke Mathias for their gouernour, and whatsoeuer
dependeth, or hath fallen, or shall fall out, thercon, although it
should be vnder colour onely, of reestablisshing, restoring, or win-
nyng in again, of the Catholick Romish Religion, or of any in-
nouations or alteratiōs, which haue happened in some of the said
Prouinces, Cities, or members of the same, sithence the yere
1558. either yet by reason of this present vni-
on and confederacie, or suche like occasions, and the case, to be all a like, in vsyng
the said forces and violences, against one of the said Prouin-
ces, Estates, Cities, or any one onely member of the same, as if
thei vsed them against all the rest in generall.

3 And the Prouinces aforesaid, shall in like maner be bound,
to assiste, aide, and defende one an other, against all Lordes, Du-
kes, or Princes, Countreis, Prouinces, Cities, or the members
of them, who generally or particularly would vse any force, vio-
lence, or wrong against them, or yet make warre vpon them: al-
waies prouided, that the generall assistaunce of this vni-
on, shall vpon good vnderstandyng and knowledge, and according to the
necessitie of the cause, bee decreed.

4 And for the better assuraunce and sautie of the said Pro-
uinces, Cities, and members of theim, againste all power, the
frontier Cities, and all the reste also, in whatsoeuer Prouince
thei are, if it shall be so thought necessary, shall by the aduise and
appointment of these vnited Prouinces, be fortified and double
strengthened, at the costes and charges of those Cities and Pro-
uinces, wherein thei are scituate, and therein bee generally assi-
sted, of the one moitie: Saufe, that it shalbe lawfull for the said
Prouinces, if thei thinke it good and profitable, to plant, certain
newe fortes, and Fortresses, or if any be there already, to chaunge
or pull them doune, and the necessarie charges of the same, to be
borne by all the Prouinces in generall.

5. And

5 And for prouidyng of the necessarie charges (in the cases aforesaid) for the defense of the said Prouinces, it is agreed vpon that there shalbe continually in a readinesse, for the common defense of the said Prouinces, certaine impositions imposed, and commonly at the fardest, from three monethes to three monethes, or at some other fit tymes, to be gathered throughout all the vniued Prouinces, Cities, and members of the same, vpon all kindes of Wines, Beare, Bryed either within, or without them, grinding of all kinde of Corne, Salt, Clothe of Gold and Siluer, Silkes, and Wooll, Oren, and Rine, Corne ground, all kinde of fleshe meate that is kilde, Horses, Oren solde, or chopped and chaunged, all thinges sold by waight, and all other thinges els that maie hereafter be found, by common aduise and consent to bee good, and accordyng to the ordenaunce, whiche shall hereon be deuised and made: and shall employe the reuenues of his Maiesties Demeines, the charges of the same beeyng deducted, to that vse.

6 Whiche impositions shall by a common aduise bee raised and abased, as in that behalfe and in those cases shall bee thought needefull, and bee onely employed for the common defence, and so farre forth as thei in generall, shall therein be bound to beare, and yet not so fully and wholly to bee employed thereon, as that the said impositions, maie not be conuerted to some other necessarie vles.

7 That the said Frontier Cities, and all the reste also, if neede be, shall at all tymes be bounde, to receiue into them, suche a garrison as the said vniued Prouinces shall thinke good of, and besides, if any Gouvernour of the Prouinces, shall by his owne aduise, appoynt any Garrison to be thrust in into any of them, thei shall in no wise refuse the same: Prouided alwaies, that the said vniued Prouinces, shall paie the said Garrisons their wages: And that all Captaines and Souldiers, ouer and besides their generall othe, shalbe particularly sworne, to the Citie or Cities and Prouinces wherein thei shalbe placed, and this point also, for this ende and purpose, shalbe put in emonges the rest of their Articles: That suche order & discipline, shalbe kept emongst the Souldiers, as that the Citizens and Enhabitauntes of the Cities and Countrey, aswell Ecclesiasticall, as Temporall, shall

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not hereby bee vexed, nor iniuried: neither shall the saied Garrisons, bee any more exempt from the Assises and Imposites, then the Citezens and Enhabitauntes of the placc, where thei shalbe placed: and besides there shall in generall be giuen vnto the said Citizens and Enhabitauntes, money for the Souldiers lodgings, euen as it hath vnto this present been vsed, throughout all Hollande.

8 And for the more assured aidynge, and mainteinaunce of the Countreys at all tyme and tymes, all the Enhabitauntes of euery of these Prouinces, Cities, and vplande Countreys, thus vnit-ed, beeyng betweene 18. and 60. yeres of age, shall within one moneth at the fardest, after the date of these presentes, be enrowled and mustered, to the ende, that the number of the polles beeyng knowne, there might be some further order taken, after the first assemble of these confederates, as shall seeme moste meete, for their better defence and sauetie of these vnit-ed Prouinces.

9 Neither shall there be any agreement of trewes or peace, no, nor yet any Warre taken in hande, nor any impositions or contributions imposed, touchyng this generall League, but by the common aduise and consent of the saied Prouinces. Neuerthelesse, as concernyng the gouernement of this confederacie in other thynges, and whiche maie fall out, and ensue thereon, euery man shall liue and be gouerned, accordyngly as shall be aduised and concluded vpon, by the greater number of the voyces of the Prouinces comprised within this League, whiche shalbe gathered together, euen as it hath been wonted generally to be vsed of the Estates vnto this daie, that by waie of tolleracion, vntill suche tyme as by the common aduise of these confederates, there bee other prouision therein made: Saufe that if it so fall out, that the Prouinces in matters of trewes, peace, warre, or contributiō, can not agree together, y^e controuerſie, shal by way of tolleracion, be referred and set ouer, vnto the Lordes Lieutenantes of the saied Prouinces, beeyng at this present vnit-ed together, who shall deale indifferently about the controuerſie betweene the saied parties, or els pronounce therein accordyngly, as thei shall finde appertaine, to the equitie of the cause. Prouided alwaies, that if the Lordes Lieutenantes can not herein make them agree, that then thei shall take and ioynе vnto them
suche

suche indifferent Assistauntes, as thei shall thinke good: and the parties shall be bounde, to stande to suche order, as shall be by the saied Lordes Lieutenauntes accordyngly sett doune, in maner and forme as before hath been saied.

10 That none of the saied Prouinces, Cities, or any of their Members, shall make any Confederacie or League, with any Potentates, or their nere Neighbours, without the consent of the rest of the vniited and confedered Prouinces,

11 It is agreed and accorded, that if any Prouinces, Potentates, Countreys, or Cities nere adioyning, will vniite them selues with the saied Prouinces, and yeeld vnto this confederacie, that thei shall bee receiued into it by the aduise and consent of these Prouinces,

12 That the saied Prouinces shall bee bounde to be conformable to the currauntnesse of the Coyne, and course of the Monney, accordyng to the content of suche Ordinaunces, as at the first were thereon made and ordeined: whiche Coynes, the one without the other maie not be chaunged.

13 And as for the matter of Religion: the Hollanders and Zealanders shall vse their religion, as to them shall seeme good: And the rest of the Prouinces of this union, shall frame them selues to lue, accordyng to the content of the peace of the Religion, whiche hath already been deuised and set forth, by Archduke Mathias, Gouvernour and Captaine generall of these low Countreys, and his counsell, and also by the aduise and counsell of the Generall Estates, or els set suche an order herein, either generally or perticularly, whiche thei shall thinke to bee most meete for the quiete and benefite, of the Prouinces, Cities, and euery particuler Member of them, and as shal appertaine to the conseruation, of the goodes and enheritaunces, of either, Ecclesiasticall or Temporall person or persons whatsoener: without this, that there maie be by some other Prouince, some obstacke or staie made: seeyng that euery priuate persone, is at his owne choysse to haue his Religion free to hym self: Neither shall any one finde fault or trouble one an other, for his Religions sake, but rest onely vpon that point, of the pacification made at Gant.

14 All Religious houses and Ecclesiasticall persones, shall (accordyng to the pacification) enioye their goodes and posses-

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sions, whiche were mutually placed in any of these vniued Pro-
uinces : And therefore, seying that certaine Ecclesiasticall per-
sones of the Provinces, who, during the warres, betweene the
Countreies of Hollande and Zeeland, against the Spanyardes,
were vnder the iurisdiction of the saied Spanyardes, and for-
sooke their Monasteries or Colleges, vnder the iurisdiction of
the Hollanders and Sealanders, there shall bee a sufficient li-
uing provided for them during their life : and so shall also the
like prouision bee made for all suche as withdrew them selues
out of Hollande and Sealande, into certaine other Provinces
of this vniou, where thei as yet still remaine.

15 And thei also, whiche are or haue been professed in any of
the Monasteries, or Ecclesiasticall Colleges, of these Lowe
Countreies, and whiche either by reason of the Religion, or vpon
any other reasonable occasion, will forsake, or that haue al-
readie forsaken them, a sufficient portion to liue withall shall be
taken out of the renenues of their Couent or Colleges, during
their life tyme, so farre forth as the qualitie of their goodes and
possessions will extende. Alwaies provided, that whosoever, af-
ter the date of these presentes, shall enter into any of the Mona-
steries, and afterwarde forsake them, shall haue no reliefe out of
them: but maie for their benefite and reliefe withdrow them sel-
ues to the place whether thei caried them. And that thei like-
wise whiche presently are, or hereafter shall be in any Couent or
Colleges, shall bee at free choise, to vse their Religion, and ap-
parell also: saufe, that in all other thynges, thei shall be obedient
to the Prior of the Couent.

16 And if it shall so fall out (whiche thyng God forbid) that
any entended mischeef, dissention, or discorde shal arise betweene
the saied Provinces, whereof thei will not be aknowne one to
an other, that then the saied mischiefe, in case it concerne any of
the Provinces in perticuler, shall be suppressed and decyded, by
the rest of the Provinces, or by them, who in that behalfe shall be
thereto deputed: But if the matter concerne all the Provinces
in generall, that then it shall be decyded by the Lieutenauntes
of the Provinces, accordyng to the maner and forme of the 19.
Article heretofore mentioned, who shall be bounde to yeeld to
either partie his right, or els agree thereon within one Moneth

(or els sooner, if the necessitie of the matter so requireth) after it hath been called vpon, or required to that ende, either by the one partie or th' other: and whatsoeuer shalbe pronounced by the rest of the saied Prouinces, or their Deputies, or by the saied Lordes Lieutenantes, shall be obserued and followed, without any further prouocation, or tolleracion of Lawe, therein, whether it bee by appeale, reliefe, reuysion, adnichilation, or any other quarrelles whatsoeuer, which any waie might be required or used.

17 That the saied Prouinces, Cities, and the Members of them, shall haue greate regarde, how thei offer any occasion of Warre, to Princes, Potentates, foreine Countreys, or Cities. And therefore, for the auoydying of all suche occasions, the saied Prouinces, Cities, and euery Member of them, shall be bound to administer true lawe and Justice, as well to Straungers, as to the Enhabitauntes of the saied Prouinces: and if any default be herein founde, to bee in any of them, the rest of the confederates shall procure by all iust and true meanes, to finde it out that it is so, and all suche abuses, whereby any suche thying might be made frustrate, and lawe neglected, shall be corrected, and reformed, accordyng to the lawes and abilities of the Prouiledges, and the laudable auncient customes of euery of them.

18 Neither shall any one of the vnitied Prouinces, Cities, or any Member of them, raise, to the charge and hurte of one another, and without common consent, any impositions, presse money, nor any suche like charges, neither yet charge or burden any of these confederates, more then thei would their owne Enhabitauntes.

19 And to the ende that all occurraunces and controuerxies, might bee well prouided for, and looked vnto: The confedered Princes shalbe bounde, at his sendyng for, who shall thereto bee aucthorised, to appeace if it were possible at Utright, at suche a daie as the same shalbe sent for, aboute those thynge and controuerxies aforesaid, whiche shalbe expressed in the letters missiues, neither must the matter, by common aduise and consent, be kept secret, nor yet be determined and resolved on, by the pluralitie of voices, in maner as aforesaid, although there should not some appeare there, by whiche euent, the rest whiche did appere

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might also very well proceade, & conclude vpon whatsoeuer thei should finde, might tende to the Common wealth of these vnitied Countreys & Prouinces: And that whatsoeuer thei shal conclude vppon, shall likewise be obserued by those whiche appeared not: Excepte the matters were of suche greate waight, as that thei might abide to bee delaied, in whiche case, thei that appeare not, might bee sent for at some other tyme, to appeare at some other certaine appointed daie, vppon paine of losyng their voice for that tyme, and that whatsoeuer shall be concluded vpon by those whiche are there present, to stande in full power and vertue, notwithstanding the absence of all the rest of the Prouinces, sauing that, that the same Prouince whiche cannot well and conueniently appeare, maie sende their opinion in writyng, and therevpon, suche a regard to be had in the collection, as appertaineth.

20 To this ende also, all and euery of the saied confedered Prouinces shalbe bound, to write all those thinges, whiche shall fall out and occurre emongest the, and whereon thei shall thinke either the publique welfare, or ouerthrowe, of the vnitied and confedered Prouinces, doeth depende, to suche as are in auctoritie that maie commaunde to sende, that by hym, the rest of the Prouinces in this behalfe, might be sent for, in maner as aforesaid.

21 And if herein, any obscuritie or doubte is to bee founde, whereon any question or dispute might arise, that then the Prouinces confedered, to haue the interpretation of the true meaning thereof, who by a common aduise and consent, shall hereon ordeine, as thei shall thinke mosse meete, and pertinent. But if so be, thei are not able to agree herewith, that then thei shall haue recourse vnto the Lordes Lieutenauntes of the Prouinces, in forme as aforesaid.

22 Likewise, if so be that it were thought to be a thing necessarie, either to augment, or alter the Articles of this union, confederacie, or league, in any the pointes or Articles, that then the same also to bee doen by the common aduise and consent, of the saied Prouinces confedered, and not otherwise.

23 All whiche Pointes and Articles, and euery of theim in perticuler, the saied Prouinces haue promised, and by these presentes doe promise, to obserue and followe, cause to be obserued and followed, without crosseing, or causyng theim to be crossed, neither

neither yet suffer the directly, or indirectly to bee crossed, in any maner whatsoever. And if so be, that any thyng be by any one of them, doen or attempted to the contrary, thei pronounce the same to bee nothyng, nor of any valure, and herein binde them selues, and all the inhabitauntes of their Prouinces: and respectiuelly all the Cities, and euery member of them, and also, all persones and gooddes, and that all those whatsoever, whiche any waie should goe about the crossing of the obseruation of these presentes, and whatsoever dependeth thereon, might bee arrested, and troubled in all places, and before all Magistrates, Judges, and Iustices, where soener thei shall bee founde or taken: And for this cause might caste of all Exceptions, Graces, Priuiledges, Releuementes, and generally all other benefites of Lawes, whiche any waie might serue their tourmes contrary herevnto, and especially against the Lawe, sayng, that a generall forsayng, or castyng of, taketh no place, where an especiall goeth not before.

24 And for the greater confirmation hereof, the Lordes Liutenantes of the saied Prouinces whiche now are, or hereafter shall bee, together all Magistrates and chief Officers of euery Prouince, Citie, or any member of them, shall be bounde to promise to obserue, and keepe, and cause to be obserued and kepte, this vnion, and confederacie, and euery Article thereof in particular.

25 All swornemen, Brotherhoods, & Collegiannes likewise, who are resiant within any of the Cities, or places of this vnion, ought by othe to promise, to obserue and keepe them,

26 And herevpon, shall letters bee made in due forme, whiche by the Lordes Lieutenantes, and principall members, and Cities of the Prouinces, especially required by the reste, be sealed, and by their Secretarie respectiuelly subscribed.

These poyntes and articles aforesaid, are subscribed by the Deputies of Gelderland, & the Count of Zyrphen, and namely, by my Lorde Ihon Count of Nassou, Lieutenaunt of the saied Countries, for hym self, and with the rest of the Substitutes, in the name of the common order of Knighthoode of the saied Duchy of Gelderlande, and Countie of Zyrphen, together with the Deputies of Hollande, Sealande, Utricht, and the Countries

A subscriptyng of the vnion of Utrecht right by the Lordes and Deputies of the Cities.

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nere round about Utright assembled, and aucthorized, as aboue said: finally staied, and concluded vpon: And thesaied Deputies of the Countries of Gelderlande, and Countie of Zurphen, for a larger declaration of the Barons, of the great and small Cities, and of thesaied Duchy and Countie, haue taken a further & longer daie, vnto the 9. of February next commyng, in the Citie of Utright, with the Commissioners of the Estates there. And this was doen at Utright the 13. of January 1579. And for the greater assuraunce emongest the rest, was subscribed vnderneath the signature of Hounsieur the Lieutenaunt aboue said, and thesaied Deputies, *Ihon Graeffzu Nassou Catzenellebogh &c.* And on the behalfe of the knightes of the Duchy of Gelderlande, and Countie of Zurphen, *Alexandre de Telight, Giles Piec, Ioachim de Liere, Alexandre Bentink.* On the behalfe of the Hollanders, *G. Poelgeest, P. Bushe, Rene Cant.* On the behalf of the Estates of Sealande, *Willyam Roefius, Nicholas Blankis, Peter le Riche Iasper Vospergen.* On the behalf of the Estates of Utright, *Ausonius de Galama,* By the comaundement of the Chapter Scorius, *Iames Verbaer,* vicedeane of S. Peters: Of the Chaplers Mandate, *Adrian de Suylen, Lambert de Bourgh.* By the comaundement of the Chapter: *F. de Wyen Eng. Reignold de Aze wyne, Bartholomeus de la Waell, Nicholas de la Zuylon. A. D. Leyden, Lubert de Cleues.* On the behalfe of the Estates of the Countries nere rounde about, *Egbert Clants, E. Ierges.*

As certaine seemed to make some difficultie vpon the 13. Article of this vnion, and so staied, the 13. of this moneth, emongest the Deputies of the Countries of Gelderlande and Zurphen, Hollande, Sealande, Utright, and the Countries nere aboute, betweene Gens and Leuwers, as if thei had meant to receiue none into the saied vnion, but suche as would suffer the peace of the Religion, deuised by the Archduke of of Austriche, and his Counsell, with the aduise of the generall Estates, or at the least, whiche of the twoo Religions, to witte, the Romishe Catholique, and the reformed: And therfore for this cause haue the saied Deputies, whiche are to deale in this vnion, and establishyng of the same, for the auoidyng of all intended mischief and mistruste, meant hereby to declare, that thei neuer yett endedd, nor at this tyme doe entende, to barre any Cities or
Provinces

Provinces, who will onely stande to the Romishe Catholique Religion, from the saied union and league, and where the number of the Enhabitauntes of the saied reformed Religion is not greate, yet that thei maie by vertue of the saied peace of Religion, enioye the exercise of the reformed Religion: And yet thei shall, notwithstanding the same, bee ready to receiue into this union, all suche Cities and Provinces, whiche will onely stande to the saied Romishe Religion, so that thei will be bounde to all the rest of the poyntes and Articles of the said union, and behaue them selues as good defenders of their Countreies, sleepeing there is none other meanyng, but that one Province or Citie, should not deale and contend against an other in the cause of Religio, and that to bee doen, for the better holdyng of the peace and concord, emongest the Provinces, and the auoidyng and cuttyng of the principallest occasions, whiche might cause dissention and discorde. Given at Utricht the first of February 1579.

An Amplification of the 15. Article.

Where in the 15. Article here aboue rehearsed, a Prouiso is made and set done, for the relieuyng of some Ecclesiasticall persones, who had liued and been brought vp, in certaine Monasteries and Colleges, and by reason of the Religion forsake them, and maie hereafter also forsake them, and because of the same, it is to bee feared, that some suites and controuerlies maie growe, and whiche thei knowe well inough, to bee already on foote, because suche persones will pretende a right, in the succession of the gooddes and possessions of their Parentes, Brethren, Sisters, and the reste of their kinsmen and affinitie, whiche are by their deathes lefte vnto theim, or yet to bee lefte, and also those whom thei had in their life tyme, vnder the title of Gifte chaunged, or els certaine others might be altered, chaunged, and alienated, or after their deathes be assured: For this cause, the saied Provinces confedered, for the preuentyng of the saied suites and controuerlies, whiche thereon might arise, haue thought good to suspende and surcease all the suites instituted, or hereafter to be instituted, by reason of the cause aforesaid, vntill suche tyme, as the saied confedered Provinces and the reste, whiche in this

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union and league, maie hereafter ioyne together, bee otherwise, in this behalfe (and that by the auctoritie of the Magistrate also, if neede bee) ordeined and declared. Giuen also by the saied Deputies, the first of February, 1579. and subscribed *Lanzweert*.

The 4. of February 1579. appeared in the assemblie of the saied Deputies at Utricht, the Deputies of Gaunt hereafter vnderwitten, who saied, that after thei had seen and perused the poyntes and Articles of the said union, and that by vertue thereof, had long befoze been needefull, and by theim thought to bee good, & by vertue of their letters of trust, their especiall procura- tion and instructiō, dated the 27. of Ianuary 1579. had allowed and ratified theim, promisyng with the reste of the considered Prouinces, to keepe, obserue, and followe the said Articles, and euery poynte and tittle of theim. In witnesse whereof, the saied Deputies haue here vnderneath sette to their handes, the daie, moneth, and yere aforesaid. And in the behalfe of the Sautois was subscribed, *Adolf de Gruere, Lenyn Tayart, Christofer de la Becque, and Lucas Mayart.*

The 5. of Marche 1579. appeared in the assemblie of the saied Deputies at Utricht, the Deputies of the ordenarie knight- hood in Fymegue quarter, and those also of the Citie of Fymegue, who declared, that thei had seene and perused the poyntes, and Articles of the saied Union, and whatsoeuer els, by vertue thereof, is further needefull and thought to be good and necessa- rie: wherevpon, by vertue of their instruction, thei haue sealed them with the priue signet of their saied Citie of Fymegue, da- ted the 12. of February 1579. and by these presentes allowed and ratified the same &c: Promisyng with the reste of the con- sidered Prouinces, to keepe, obserue, and followe, all those poyntes, and euery parte and parcell of the in perticuler: In witnesse whereof, the saied Deputies, together with the ordenary knight- hood of the Citie and quarter of Fymegue, haue hereunto set to their owne handes, the daie, moneth, and yere aforesaid. And subscribed, *Giles Pier, Ihon Kelsken, Arnold de Seller, Thierry Flemmyng, Lambert Ihonson, Ihon de Hans.*

The 9. of Marche, appeared in the assemblie of the saied De- puties of the vnited Prouinces, the ordenarie knighthood in the quarters

quarters of Arnhem, who declared, that thei had seen and perused the pointes and Articles of the said Union, and whatsoeuer els, by vertue thereof, was further needefull, and thought to bee good, and the same, by vertue of their letters of trust, dated the 18 of February, and accordyng to certaine instruction, dated the 16 of the same moneth 1579. bothe sealed with the secret signet of the Citie of Arnhem, haue by these presentes, after lōg and ripe consideration, allowed and ratefied, and the same doe also allowe &c: Promisynge vpon the condition as aforesaid, to keepe, obserue, and followe them, and euery parte and parcell of theim in perticuler: In witnesse whereof, the saied Deputies of the Court of the ordenary knight hood, in Arnhem quarter, haue vnderneath set to their hande, the daie, moneth, and yere abouesaid: And subscribed, *Alexandre Bentincq.*

The 13. of Marche 1579. appeared in the assemblie of the saied Deputies of the vnited Prouinces, assembled at Utright, the Deputies of Leewardē, Sneecq, Franiquer, and of certaine places called Grietmans, and Grietenien, with certaine perticuler Gentlemen of Friselande, whose names are sett doune in their procuration: Who saied, that thei had seen and perused, the pointes and articles of the said Union, and whatsoeuer els, by vertue of theim, was further needefull, and whiche thei thought to bee right good: who, by vertue of their procuration, dated the 12. of March 1579. had allowed, approued, & ratefied, & by these presentes did also allowe, approue, and ratefie them: promysing with the rest of the confedered Prouinces, to keepe, obserue, and followe those pointes, and euery parte and parcell of theim in perticuler: In witnesse whereof, the saied Deputies of the saied Cities of Leewarden, Sneecque, Franiquer, and of certaine places called Grietmans and Grietenien, with certaine perticuler Gentlemen of Friselande, haue here vnderneath sette to their handes, the daie, moneth, and yere aforesaid, and subscribed, *B. Idzaerde, Ielle Sibess.*

The 11. of Aprill 1579. appeared in the assemblie of the saied Deputies of the United Prouinces at Utright assembled, the Deputies of the Citie of Venlo, namely Gerard de Loh, Harman de Laet Cornelissen, Sheriffes, James Goris a Counsellier, and Jhon de Groot, as ordenary Deputies for the same place
Who,

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Who there saied, that thei had seen and perused the pointes and Articles of the saied Union, and whatsoeuer, by vertue thereof, was further needefull, thei thought to be good, and had allowed approued, and ratefied, & by these presentes, did allowe, approue, and ratefie them to be suche, by vertue of their instruction, dated the 3. of Aprill 1679: Promisynge with the rest of the confedered Prouinces, to keepe, obserue, & followe them, and euery part and parcell of them in perticuler: In witnesse whereof, the said Deputies of the saied Citie of Venlo, haue here vnderneath sett to their handes, the daie, monethe, and yere abouesaid: And subscribed *Girard de Lobn, Herman de Laet Cornelissen, Iames Goris, Ihon de Groot.*

Where his Excellencie, for the conseruation and maintaunance of the Commonweale, the Lawes, and franchises of the lowe Countries, thought it alwaies verie profitable and necessarie, that all good amitie, vnion, and concord, betwene the Prouinces of the saied Countries, Cities, and perticuler members of the same, was to be kept, whereby, the comon Enemie, might with greater force, common power, and mutuall assistance, bee not onely resisted and repulled: But also to cut of all meanes of sowynge and procurynge any entended mischiefe or dissention, amongst the same Prouinces, Cities, or their members, aswell by reason of the difference that is in Religion, as otherwise: and therefore his Excellencie hauynge seene, a certaine Union and League made and established at Utright, in Ianuary last paste, betwene the right honourable, Count Ihon of Nassou, Lieutenant of the Duchy of Gelderlande, and Countie of Zurphen, and those of Hollande, Sealande, Utright, and the Countries nere aboute Friselande scituatyng betweene Fems, and Lauwers, hath well allowed and liked of thesame vnion and league, neuerthelesse, to the ende that thesame might the better, and by a more fit occasion be propounded and sette forth, generally for all the Prouinces hereabout, for the acceptynge and establishing of an vniuersall peace, vnion, and concord, all the Countries throughout, with a common consent, hath vntill this present staied hymself from subscribyng vnto this vnion: And whereas his highnesse, and a greate parte of the saied Prouinces hereabout haue declared, that thei haue thought it bothe good
and

and profitable, that suche an union should bee concluded vpon, and accepted, for the better gouernement of the affaires of the Commonweale of our Countrie: His Excellencie at this tyme meaneth to declare, and by these presentes declareth, that where the saied union was made and establisshed at Utright, betweene thesaied Prouinces, he thinketh, and so taketh it, to be right good and so accepteth thereof, & is well assured that there is nothyng therein, whiche doeth any waie diminishe or empaire the superi-ritie & authoritie of the Archduke his highnesse: and to be short, would, that the saied united Prouinces, should meete together, for the further concludynge and establisshynge of all the perticuler pointes, and Articles of the saied union, whiche might altogethe-ther tende to their greater, and moze firme concord: Wherefore his Excellencie, by these presentes declareth, that he will accept and keepe the saied pointes, and Articles, euen as thesaied Prouinces of Gelderlande, Hollande, Sealande, Utright, and as many els, as shall admit, conclude, and accompt of them as good. In witnesse whereof, his Excellencie hath, herevnto subscribed his owne name, and caused it to bee sealed, as by waie of Commission, with his priuie signet in the Citie of Antwerpe, the 3. of Maie 1579. Subscribed, *Willyam of Nassow*. And vnderneath was written, by his Excellencies appointment, Subscribed, *N Bruninx*.

The first of January 1579. After that the Procuratours of the Cities assembled, at the diet of Leewarden, in the Monast-erie of the Jacopins, had heard the proposition of the Deputies of the nearest union of Utright, and certaine their Procu-ratours of the saied Cities: Thei, at the request of the saied Deputies, had appointed, for, and in the name of theim all, to conferre moze stricte-ly with the saied Deputies, and peruse the pointes and Articles of the saied mosse neare union, whiche be-ynge doen, and haueynge withall heard, the report of their fellowe Procuratours: And the Procuratours of the Cities declared, that thei had, by vertue of their Procurations, allowed, appro-ued, and ratified, and by these presentes, allowed, &c. all thesaied pointes and Articles of the saied union: Promisynge with the rest of the confedered Prouinces, to keepe, obserue, and followe, the same, and euery parte and percell of theim in perticuler, as
well

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well of whatsoeuer hath heretofore herein been made, or whatsoeuer hereafter by vertue thereof shall bee made: In witnesse whereof, the saied Procurators of the Cities, haue herevnto set their handes, the daie, monethe, and yere abouesaid. And subscribed *I. Iulius de Bothouse*, Proctour of Franiquer, *Iuerrin Henricx*, Proctour of Franiquer, *Henry Iaricks*, as Proctour of Leerwarden, *Ihon Ihonson*, as Ady Lamberts Substitute, who had a Procuration, and was gone out of the Citie, *Nicholas Hotthys*, in the the behalfe of the Counsell of the Citie of Sneecq *Peter Lieuenfs*, in the behalfe of the Comonaltie of the Citie of Sneecq, *Iames Sieneris*, as Proctour for Bollswerd, *Francis Iames Frerics*, in the behalfe of those of Bollswerd, *Bawdein Peterfs*, as Proctours for the Burgomasters of the Citie of Ilt, *Ielise de Garlama*, as Proctour also for Ilt. *Re-ne Oldfres* of Stauere, *Willyam Sippefs* Proctour of Sloten, *Ioannes Bottegh* Burroughmaister of Woicum as Proctour, *Donne Addefs* Proctour of Woicum.

Whereas we *George de Lalayng*, Coûte of Rennebergh, free Baron de Uille, Lorde of Uillero, Imbrechies, Lieutenant and Captaine generall in Friselande, Queryssell, Groenyngh, Omlanden, Drente, and Lingen, Chief of his Pagestics finances, haue thought it very profitable and necessary, for the conseruation and maintenaunce of the Commonweale, the lawes and Franchises of the lowe Countries, that all good amitie, vnion, and concorde betweene the Prouinces of the saied Countries, and beyng vnder our gouernement, and likewise betweene the Cities, and perticuler members of thesame bee kepte, whereby the common Enemie, shal not onely by a greater force, common power, and mutuall assistaunce be resisted, and repulsed: but shall also cut off from hym the meanes, whereby he shall not be able to forwe and procure any intended mischief or dissention, betweene the saied Prouinces, Cities, or members of the same, aswell by reason of the difference of the Religion, as otherwise, whiche in any maner might happen. And therefore we hauyng in our presence seen, in Sommer laste, a certain vnion and league, and by our aduise deuised at Arnhem, and in January laste, made and established at Utright, betweene the right honourable Lorde, Count *Ihon of Nassou*, Lieutenaunt of the Duchy of Gelderlande,

lande, and Counte of Zurchen, and them of Hollande, Sealand Utright, Dmmelandes, Friselande and the rest, together a certaine acte of Approbation and acceptation of thesaied union, by Monsire the Prince of Orange, Lieutenaunt generall to Archduke Mathias, Gouvernor generall of thesaied lowe Countries, dated the thirde of Maie 1579. haue ratified, approued and allowed, and by these presentes, doe accept, certesie, approue, and allowe, the same union, beeyng well assured, that there is nothyng therein, any waie derogatorie from the auctoritie and superiouritie, of the Archduke his highnesse: Promisyng with the rest of the confedered Prouinces to keepe the same, and euery part and percell thereof, obserue, and followe: In witnesse whereof, wee haue to these presentes set our hande, and caused our priuie seale to be put thereto, as it were a Commission. Given at Winse in Dmmelandes the 11. of Iuly 1579. And vnderneath was written *George de Lalayng.*

The 10. of Iuly, 1579. appeared, in the assemblie of thesaied Deputies assembled together at Utright, the Deputies of the Citie of Wyres, namely, Seigneor Ihon de Languedull Sherief, and Maister Peter Baelde, Pensioner of the saied Citie of Wyres, who declared, that thei had seen and perused, the pointes and Articles of thesaied union, and whatsoeuer, by vertue thereof, is further needefull, and thesame to be thought good: and had by vertne of their letters of credite, and procuration, dated the 23. of Iune 1579. allowed, approued, and ratified, and by these presentes did allowe &c. thesame: Promisyng with the reste of the confedered Prouinces, to keepe, obserue, and followe them, and euery parte and percell of them in perticuler. In witnesse whereof, the saied Deputies of the Citie of Wyres, haue signed this with their owne hande, the daie, monethe, and yere aforesaid. And subscribed, *Ihon de Languedul, M. Peter Baelde.*

The 29. of Iuly 1579. appeared in the saied assemblie of the Deputies, of the nerest unio of the vniued Prouinces, assembled together at Utright, the Substitutes of the Citie of Antwerpe namely, Seignior Ihon de Stralen, the first & principall Burroughmaister, Seignior Phillip de Scoonhoue, B. of Waroy, Sherief, Ihon de Bright, the old Sherief, Adam Verhult, Colonnell, Valerius de Dale, and Ihon Gysels Deane, who declared,

The Substitutes of the of the Citie of Antwerpe.

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red, that thei had seen, and perused the pointes and Articles of the saied union, and whatsoeuer els, by vertue thereof, is beho- full, and the same thought to bee good: haue, by vertue of their Procuration dated the 22. of July, and by their letters of credit, dated the 23. of the saied monethe 1579. allowed, approued, and ratefied, and by these presentes doe allowe, approue, and ratefie them: Promisying with all the reste of the confedered Prouinces to keepe, obserue, and followe them, and euery parte and percell of them in perticuler: In witnesse whereof, the saied Deputies of the saied Citie of Antwerpe, haue with their handes subscri- bed herevnto, the daie, moneth, and yere abouesaid. And vnder- neath was subscribed, *Ihon de Strahen. Phillip de Schoonehove, Ihon de Brecht, Adam Verhult, Valerius van Dale. Ihon Gysels.*

The Depu-
ties of Bre-
da.

The 13. of September 1579. appeared in the assemblie of the saied Deputies, assembled together at Utright, the Depu- ties of the Citie of Breda, namely, Godard de Lughtenbergh Burroughmaister of the said Citie, Geffray Montens Sherief and Lieutenaunt to a Colonnell, and a Captaine also, Noell Backe Maister of the Dyphelins, and a dizinier: who, declared, that thei had seen and perused, the pointes, and Articles of the saied union, and whatsoeuer els, by vertue thereof, is further be- houeful, and the same supposed good: and by vertue of their Pro- curation, dated the 10. of September 1579. allowed, approued, and ratefied, and by these presentes, doe allowe, approue, and ra- tefie the same: Promisying with the reste of the confedered Pro- uinces, to keepe, obserue, and followe them, and euery parte and percell of them in perticuler: In witnesse whereof, the said De- puties of the saied Citie of Breda, haue herevnto sette their han- des, the daie, moneth, and yere abouesaid. Subscribed *Godart de Lughtenbergh, Geoffray Montent, Noell Backe, the soonne of Francis.*

The Sub-
stitutes of
Bruges.

The first of February 1580. appeared in the assemblie of the saied union of the united Prouinces, assembled together at U- tright, Seignior Guido de Buecque Sherief of the Citie of Bruges: who said, that he had seen and perused the pointes and Articles of the said union, and whatsoeuer els, by vertue there- of, is further needefull, and findyng the same to bee good, hath, without the approbation of Seignior Leuin Steppe Sherief, and

and maister James Duijn Pensioner of the said Citie of Bruges, by vertue of their Procuracion sealed, dated the 7. of Nouember 1579, made at Antwerpe, the 26. of the said moneth: by vertue of their letters of Credite, and Procuracion, both at once sealed, the 15. of Ianuary 1580. allowed, approued, and ratefied, and by these presentes doeth allowe, &c. the said union: promisyng with the rest of the confedered Prouinces, to keepe, obserue, and followe the same, and euery part and parcell thereof in particuler. In witnesse whereof, the said Deputies of the said Citie of Bruges, hath signed this with his owne hand, the daie, moneth, and yere aboue said. And subscribed, *Guydo de Braeck*.

The first of February also 1580. appeared in the assemblie of the said Deputies of the vniited Prouinces, assembled together at Utricht, maister Gawter de Ecke, Sherife of the Countrey of Franke: who said, that he had seen and perused the pointes and Articles of the said union, and whatsoeuer by vertue thereof, is further needefull, whiche he findeth to bee good: and doeth without the approbation of maister Isebrant Prouin, pensioner of the said Countrey of Franque, by vertue of their Procuracion, sealed, and dated the seuentene of October a thousande five hundred seuentie and nine. Giuen at Antwerpe, the sixe and twentie of Nouember, by vertue of his Procuracion sealed, dated the three and twentie of Ianuary that yere, and letters of credite, dated the five and twentie of the said moneth, hath, allowed, approued, and ratefied, and by these presentes, alloweth, approueth, and ratefieth the said union: Promisyng with the reste of the confedered Prouinces, to obserue and followe the same, and euery parte and parcell thereof. In witnesse whereof, the said Deputie of the Countrey of Francq, hath signed this with his hande, the daie, moneth, and yere aboue said: Subscribed, *Gantier de Ecke*.

The Sub-
stitutes of
Franke in
Flanders.

The Estates of Artois, Haynault, Lille, Douay, and Orchies, agreed, and concluded a peace the 17. of Maie 1579. with the Prince of Parma, forsaking the Pacification of Gaunt, and the generall union whiche thereon ensued, whereunto they had bothe subscribed and sworn. And the Prince of Parma held for good and stable, in the name of his Matie, whatsoeuer was

The peace
of Artois
& Haynault,
with the
Princes of
Parma.

Eg. i. betweene

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betweene Sir Matthewe Howlerdt Bishoppe of Arras, Sir Ihon of Noircarnes knight, Baron of Selles, and Willjam le Uasseur of Valuen, Deputies, and sent vnto hym : and betweene them of the saied Countries, there was at Arras, in the Abbay of Saint Vast, a certaine wrytynge established, wherein were comprised 28. Articles, signed by either partie, and withall, by the Marques of Richbrough, the Count Lalayng, and Seigneor Willeruall, Gouvernoys respectiuelly, of the saied Countries. The Sommarie of whiche Articles, is the obseruation of the Catholicke Romishe Religion, and the obedience of his Maiestie : But because it nothyng agreeth with the Pacification made at Cannt, we haue for breuities sake, left it quite and cleane out.

Mastright
besieged, and
wonne.

The 12. of Aprill 1579. The Prince of Parma, besieged the Citie of Mastright, and with suche force so straightly couped it vp, and gaue so many assaultes, as that this greate many yeres the like siege hath not been heard spoken of, for although, what by force of the Cannon, and their wonderfull vnderminyng, the Enemy had already woone bothe their Gates, and Rampares, yet were they no whit discouraged, but valiantly, like noble Souldiers and menne of warre, continually repulled them, wherein, they in verie deepe shewed their greate loyaltie and constancie, towarde their Countrie, reprobung hereby, the cowardise of the Wallonnes Nobilitie, who for a small portion of a share, did so farforth forget it self, as y they became the Spaniardes Pages, their professed enemies, aidyng them, to the vter ouerthrowyng bothe of them selues, and their people. And although the valiaunt Citezens, were in verie greate miserie and calamitie, by reason of the often batterie of the Enemy, and the continuall assaultes, yet they neuer yeelded to that pusillanimitie, but still stoutly stood to this terrible siege : and whiles they were looking so wishely, and so long tyme, for aide and succour, behold, they were in a mornyng assailed, bothe within and without, for the Enemy had in suche sorte wrought his Mine workes, as that he had gotten into a Monasterie within the Citie, in so muche that the poore Citezens, and Souldiers, seying the selues on euery side, thus sodainly assailed, and not able to make any shifte to defende them selues againste the force of the Enemy,

mie, who so furiously coupled with theim, as that the greatest number bothe of men and women, and children, were there driven, miserably to lose their liues: for the women, chose rather to drowne them selues in the Riuer of Haze, then to be dishonored with so Barbarous a Maran, and faithlesse forsworne Mallon.

The 4. of Maie 1579. commaundement was giuen to the President and Counsellours of the Court of Friselande (who before had been taken prisoners, and deprived of their Estate) to departe the Citie, before the Sunne setting, and afterward to be banished the Countrie.

The great
Councell of
Friselande
banished.

The 5. of Maie 1579. The Count Rennenbergh, Lieutenant of the Countrie of Friselande, takyng parte with the Dmmelandes, besieged the Citie of Groening, with one Regiment of Souldiers, vnder the charge of one Captaine Bartell Ents, a very warlike man: in so much, that the Groennigistes, were enforced to come to a composition with the Count Rennenbergh and the Dmmelandes.

In Iune, Iuly, and August 1579. there assembled at Coloigne, many noble men of the Empire, to witt, Ambassadors from the Pope, from the Emperour, from the kyng of Spaine, and from certaine other Bishoppes and Lordes on the one side, and for the lowe Countries, the Duke of Arscote and other noble menne, and Deputies of euery Prouince on the other side: But because thei of the lowe Countries, would by no meanes condescende to the treatie deuised at Coloigne, euery man returned from whence he came: Neuerthelesse, the noble menne that were there assembled, established a peace, the effecte whereof was this: An obseruation of the Catholique Romishe Religion, and of the obedience of his Maiestie. And ouer and besides this, that all old officers should be restored againe into their Estate, and that his Maiestie would at no hande admit, and suffer those of the reformed Religion: And therefore, if there were any of the reformed Religion, whiche would not bee contented with the Romishe Religion, that then thei might departe the Countrie, sell their goodes, and so enioye them: whiche peace, was but a trappe, to entrappe them, for the ruinyng, and utter extirpung of all those of the reformed Religion, or els to drive them quite and cleane out of the Countrie: howbeit, none of the

An assemblie
at Coloigne.

Eg. ii. Prouinces

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Prrouinces of the lowe Countries, would accept of this, but Artois and Hainault, as hath been before saied: and so did likewise Malines, and Boisleduke: but the seuen Prrouinces whiche ioyned with those of Flaunders, Antwerpe, and Burells, had rather hazard bothe bodies and gooddes for their Countrie, then that thei would suffer bothe them selues, their children or successors, to be brought into euerlastyng bondage and sclauerie.

The 2. of June 1579. there was a newe gate set vp at Leeward, called our Ladie Gate, and was by the honourable aduise of the Counsell of the Citie there, that yere finished: to witt, by Aedge Lambert, Meynart Wychers, and Jelle Sybes, Burroughmaisters, and is a most excellent principall peece of work, as euery man maie iudge whiche hath seen it.

An enter-
prise against
the Biele.

In September 1579. there was a treason counterfettred, betwene the Captaine of the Biele, and the Malcontetes of Artoies, and Haynault, conditionally, that thei should come by sea, with their Shippes and people furnished, and trimmed like vnto the Princes, and then the Captaine would set open the gates and let them in: But as the Malcontentes were on the waie to hyng this matter to passe, the Hollanders were gotten to Sea with all their men and Shippes, and so welcomed them, as that thei made a massacre of some of them, and the rest were drowned by storme and tempest.

Menin sur-
prised by the
Estates.

The 26. of October, in the yere aforesaid, the Estates of Flaunders, had by surprise, taken the Forte of Menin, whiche the Malcontentes, before had wonne: For whiles the Malcontentes were thinkyng to gette into the gates of Courtray, for it was in deede promised them, that thei should bee lefte open, the Scottes vppon the sodaine entred Menin. Wherevpon, this Prouerbe arose, Menin thought to winne Courtray, but Menin, caused Menin to be losse.

1580.
The Castle
of Leeward
besieged and
rendred.

The first of February 1580. a greate Alarme was giuen to the Castle of Leeward in Friselande, in this maner and order as followeth. It fell out one daie, aboute seuen of the Clocke in the Mornyng, that the Souldiers of the Coune warded neare the Castle: wherevpon the Captaine fearyng, that the Castle would be taken from him perforce, caused to sound the Alarme: but when the Drummes neuer ceased soundyng, the Citizens
and

and Souldiers fell in Armes, and enuironyng the Castle, beganne to trenche. And the Citezens had aduanced fower Ensignes emonges their owne Souldiers, Arnold Herdenberg, Wybe Obbes, Douwe Egbertes, and Ebbe Douwe. These Captaines had brauely trained their Citezens and Souldiers, and made shewe as though thei would haue giuen an assaulte: but yet thei firste meant to make their Trenches, and fill vp the Castle Diches with the yearth. Now, for the makyng of their Trenches, and fillyng of their Diches, thei appointed for that purpose, the Souldiers wiues of the Castle, whiche laye in the Toune, dryuyng also befoze them to woorkes, and fill vp the Diches, a greate many of Friers and Priestes. But when the Souldiers of the Castle sawe one of the sides of the Diche, to be made in Trenches, thei were marueilously asfeard, partly because y^e the greater number were the Citezens chyldren, whom thei were lothe any waie to hurte, or yet the Toune, and partly because of their owne wiues and Citezens, whom thei meant to spare, besides many other thinges of importaunce, whiche were ouer long, here to rehearse. Wherbypon, when Captaine Ihon Scagen, sawe his Souldiers forsake hym, he was amazed: In so muche he yeeled vp the Castle, with the sautie of bodie and gooddes. And yet there were twoo other companies of Souldiers lyng in flie, within the Suburbes of Leeward, who laye quiet and still, till neede were, whose Captaines were Bastar Bouma, and Ihon Veruew: There was also ready with his companie, Owen Grouelstins. Now, when the Citezeins were masters of the Castle, thei threwe doune the Rampares, and filled the diches, and the chyldren, dreyne all the greate Dydenance into the Citie, whiche was a marueilous thying to behold, considering that there were horses inough in the Citie to haue doen it. Whiles the Citezeins were troubled aboute the pullyng doune of the Castle, the twoo companies of Ihon Bouma, and Ihon Veruew shewed themselves, & came with great triumph, as though thei had been Conquerours, whiche was to the great honour of the commendable Citezeins of Leeward, who had woonne the Castle with ensigne displaied. And that, whiche is worthie the laughing, thei had put and enterlaced al the Friers of the Citie, emongest the Souldiers all behinde the Ensigne:

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so that the poore Friers, whiche were not wonted to marche in order of battail, were greatly amazed, and so had out of the Citie. In this sort, was ouerthrowen and razed the Castle of Leeward, hauyng continued 79. yeres: For, it was built in the yere 1501. and was destroyed and razed, as before hath been said, the first of February 1580.

Harling Castle rendered.

The 2. of February in the yere aforesaid, the Captaines Iohn Bouma, Iohn Veruew, and Owen Grouetins, besieged the Castle of Harling, howbeit, thei of the Castle resisted for certaine daies, and sometymes so shotte of their Artillerie into the Toun, as that three men were slaine there withall: But after thei had seen certaine letters, whiche were written vnto the, and vnderstoode the content of them, thei rendered the Castle the 5. of February, in the yere aforesaid. Whiche the Citiezeins pulled downe to the ground, and filled vp the Diches. The same yere Harling newe gate, and the Seluses beganne to be built, and was then also finished: and after ward the Toun was fortified with Bulwarke, whiche before tyme had neuer a one.

Stauere Castle razed

The same yere and moneth, was the Castle of Stauere throwen downe and razed. All these thynges were executed by the good counsell and appointment of the honourable Lordes, the Deputies of Friselande: To witte, by Seignior Ricnich Caminga, Seignior Sipppe Beckema, Doctor Baert Ptzenda, Iohn Dedzinga, and many others of the Nobilitie, to the ende that the whole Countrey of Friselande, might bee the better conserued in peace against all treason, and that all meanes might be cutte of from the Enemie to serue his turne, for coming in into the laied Countrey: Seyng thei had considered, that their own Lieutenant, had conceived in his mynd, to render the Countrey vnto the Enemie by treason, as hereafter shall more at large be declared.

A pulling downe of Images at Leeward.

The 19. of February, there began newe warres against Images, and Churches in the Citie of Leeward, and al the Monasteries thereof. There were also certaine Priestes driven out of the Toun: Neuerthelesse, this warre against Images was not made onely in Leeward, but in all the Cities and townes of Friseland besides, followyng therein the steps and examples of the Hollanders. The goods & mouables of y^e Monasteries were sold.

sold, & bestowed vpon the warres, for the libertie of the Countrie.

The 3. of Marche 1580. beganne a greate and miserable sedition in the Citie of Groenynge, aboute fower of the Clocke in the mornynge. For George de Lalaing Countie of Rennenberg hauyng taken parte with the Malcontentes, and renouncynge the vniou of Utright, whereunto, he hymself had putte his owne hande, as manifestly appeareth by the saied copie. Sheweth then in very deede, that, whiche long tyme before he had conceived in his mynde. For, as vpon that date, all the Citezeins of Groenynge, whiche tooke parte with the Malcontes, weare on their left armes white Scarfes, and at the tyme prefixed, came to the Market place, so sone as the Drummes had sounded the Alarine, where an harquebouze was shotte of, and the Gouvernour, there on horsebacke, with a naked sworde in his hande, sayng: Now, my good fellowe Citezens, q̃ he, let me at this tyme haue your aide, and let vs accomplishe that, whiche tendeth to the seruice of his Maestie, and our owne defence, to th'ende, we might vāquish and ouercome our enemies. And he had no soner spoken these wordes, but that al the Malcontentes ranne forthwith, to the houses of the Citezens that were of the reformed Religion, breakyng doune their doores, and takyng the Citezens prisoners. In this meane while the Gouvernours horsemen, roade throughout all the streates, and there could no manne sower put out his heade at a windowe, but that he was by and by haussed with a Pistoll: and amongest all the reste, there was one manne of estimation, who had sometymes been a Counseilour, named James Hillebrandes, who saied to the Gouvernour, is this the parte of a faithfull gentelman, so inciusly to deale with his subiectes: And the wordes were no soner out of his mouth, but that he was shotte into the head with a pistoll, and so died of the blowe. There were also in this sedition, an other man and a womanne slaine. The Gouvernour still persisted in his wicked purpose, and went on, in takyng those of the reformed Religion prisoners: In so muche, that there was greate miserie and calamitie, and wonderfull weepynge and waityng of women and children: For as it is thought, there were at that tyme of the reformed Religion, about three hundred Citezens taken, of whom, some were kept in Churches, and other some in straight prison.

The Court of Rennenberg, sheweth hymself a partaker with the Malcontentes.

All these of the Religion in Groenynge are made prisoners.

A notable historie of the ciuill

And in this maner reuolted the Citie of Groenynge, against all the whole Countrie, and tooke parte with the Malcontentes, whiche caused the Citie to bee encompassed, and besieged on euery side. When the Leewarders, heard of the certaintie of this newes, the Magistrate and all the Citezeins did wonderfully stomacke the Catholikes, in so muche, that thei were once bent, to haue dealte with theim, euen as the Groenigistes had dealte with those of the reformed Religion: howbeit, after some deliberation had, thei desist from that purpose, not meaning to use any such, or the like Tyrannie, but onely shopped by some of the Catholikes within their owne house, and afterwarde banished theim the 7. and 8. of Marche 1580.

When the saied Count of Renneberg, had gotten the greater parte of Friselande, he came, and encamped hym self before the Citie of Steenewike, in the Territorie of Transselleine, howbeit gentle reader, I meane not to frustrate thee, about the successe of this siege, in shewing vnto thee, the goyng forwarde of the same, as by the historie ensuing, thou maiest see.

1580.

After that the Armie of the vnited Provinces, vnder the conduct of the Count of Hohenloo, was the 17. of Iune 1580. ouerthowen, and discomfited by the Malcontents, vnder the conduct of Harten Scheuck, in the lande of Hardenbergue: The Citie of Groening was aided, and rid of their Gouernour the Count of Rennebergue: And although the saied Count of Hohenloo, had at an other tyme leuyed a reasonable greete company of Souldiers both on foote and on Horsebacke, and so repaired his Army, yet was it once more discomfited the 4. of September, about Linigen, by the saied Malcontents: whiche was the cause, that many of the Cities, fearing the force and power of the Enemie, were driuen to receiue Garnisons into theim for their defence. And when the Count of Rennebergue sawe that he had not men of warre enow, to assaile certaine renowned Cities, and of some importaunce, he was againe strengthened with 11. Ensignes of Footemen, and certaine Horsemen, vnder the charge of Hans Stoziff of Enbricke, whereupon he caused his Army to marche towards the Citie of Oldenzeel, whiche Citie not meaning to tarrie the siege, rendred to the saied Count of Rennebergue, the 24. of September. When thei of Steenewike heard of this, thei

thei receiued in a Garnison and Souldiers, for their defence against the Enemy, and so fortified their Citie and Rampars, still looking for the Army of the Enemy, who planted his siege before the same, the 18. of October about noon, with 20. companies of Almaines and others, and 1500. Horse. Whereupon, that Euenyng, two of the Gates of the Citie, the one named the West Gate, and the other Dinniger Gate, were with Earth and Trees fast rampard vp, against the force of the Artillery of the Enemy.

The Siege
before Steen-
enwyke.

The self same daie, the Souldiers of the Towne, sallied twise out, to skirmish with the Enemy, and so also did the 19. daie ensuyng, and caried home with them foure Prisoners. Towardes the Euenyng, the Enemy passed the River of Ae, with eleuen companies of Friselanders, and entrenched about the Chappell, Steendleg.

The 20. daie there issued out of the Citie, certaine Souldiers at the Wood Gate, and had wonne and defaced the little Trench about the Chappell, carying home the buttin with them, whiche Trench, the night followyng, was made vp againe. The same daie in the Afternoone, thei againe sallied out at the East Gate, and after thei had skirmished with the Enemy, thei caried backe with them, thre Prisoners, and two Horses.

The 23. of October in the night, the Enemy marched towardes the Ruynder, to the ende thei might light vpon the two companies of Ihon de Elchede, and Roeloff de Laughen, whiche thynge, thei performed: For the next daie ensuyng, as thei returned to the Campe, thei trailed at an Horse taile, iust before the Towne, one of their Ensignes.

The 25. daie, there was a braue skirmish, where the Enemy receiued a notable losse, bothe of Souldiers and Horses, and our men returned to the Citie without any losse, carying with them, two Prisoners and three Horses.

The 28. daie of the saied Month, the Count George de Lalayng, as Gouvernor for his Maiestie in Friseland, sent a Trumpet to summon the Citie, for the surreynder thereof, whom, Captaine Conrade answered, that he kept the Citie for his Maiestie, the Estate, and the Prince of Drenge, and would defende it against whom soeuer came: Commaundyng the Trumpet to be packyng, without thei loued to be hauled with a Cannon shot.

A notable historie of the ciuill

The Count of Remmenbergue beyng stirred with this answer, caused three peeces of greate Ordnance to be planted, whiche he had that daie receiued, and that euening discharged against the Citie, three of the same Cannot shot.

This daie, at the instance of certaine good honest Citezens, was an ordinaunce made, and a price sett vppon Victualles, in manner and forme following, whiche was proclaimed, and afterwarde set vp, vpon one of the postes of the Toun house. And first, it was ordeined, that no man should Brewe, nor sell any Beere, aboue halfe a Watart the pot, of Steenwike measure.

A pounce of Larbe was prised at three Sous.

A pounce of Butter fouer Sous.

A pounce of Creame Cheesetwo Sous.

A pounce of course Cheese, one Sous and one Lpard.

A Stockfish, two Sous sauyng a Lpard.

Twelue pounce of waightie Rye bread, sixe Sous.

A measure of Eastland Graines, eightene Sous.

A measure of Countrey Graines, sixtene Sous.

A measure of Barley fiftene Sous.

A measure of Buckwheat, foyettene Sous.

A Bushell of Salte, twelue Sous.

A pot of Beere, called Iupenbere, seuen Sous.

A pot of Rhenische Wine, nine Sous.

A pot of Frenche Wine, five Sous.

Whiche was proclaimed, and commaunded to be straighly obserued, by the Enhabitantes of the Citie.

The 29. of October, were sixe greate peeces of Ordnance more, brought to the Campe of the Enemye and planted, to batter the Citie withall, whiche was in deede doen the next daie following; so that thereby they had no vse of the twoo Gylles of the Citie. The same daie, the Citie vnderstoode, by Capitaine Herman Deyhoff his man, that the Enemye meane to giue them a touchy assault; and therefore every man prepared himself, to giue them an hot repulse: and to that ende, they brought al the brewing Vesselles in the Citie to the Rampars, which they had filled with hot skaldyng water and Lime, for the walling of the heades and bodies of the Enemye. They prepared also all kindes of necessary Armour and Weapon, to defende themselves, against the force

The Citezens make them selues ready for the assault.

of the Enemie: in so muche, that the Souldiers, and all the Citizens were fully determined to receiue, and withstande the assault of the Enemie, who in steade of assaulting the Citie, cast vp his trenches from Giest Gate, even vnto Dnniger Gate.

The first of Nouember, a Messenger was sent to the Estates, to aduertise them of the estate of the Citie. And about 10. of the Clocke in the night, there issued 26. valiant Souldiers, vnder the conduct of Thon Nozberg, Captaine Comput his Lieutenant, who charged the very body of the Watche, whiche laye betweene Giest Gate, and Dnniger Gate, and there, so pretely well cooled the courages, of 24. men of the saied Watche, as that 20. of them were leaft dead in the place, and thre caried awaie prisoners, and one of them whiche would not goe, was hurt vnto death, and left without the Citie, where he died that night: but he that was in the watch, saued himself with a light paire of heeles.

The 2. of the saied Moneth in the night, the Enemie cast vp the Trenches betweene the forsaied Gates, as if he would haue made there some Mount, and therefore, the likewise within began to make an other Mount, about Giest Gate, and then were the Captaines quartered, for the defending of the Rampars. The same daie also, were two deepe ditches made at Giest Gate, because thei feared, that the Enemie would undermine the Citie.

The 3. daie at night, issued certaine Souldiers, and suddenly fell vpon the pponers, certaine Countie men, and Souldiers, whereof many were slaine, and afterwarde thei retired to the Citie with their butin.

The 7. daie thei sallied out at the East Gate, and brought awaie two Souldiers, and a Victualler, Prisoners, leaupng behinde them vpon the wale many hurte men, which would not goe with them. Thei caried also awaie with them, in despight of the Enemie, fise Kyne, and a Souldiers wife. The same daie in the afternoone, there was the like sallie, whereat was a liuely skirmishe, so that by reason of the retraict of Captaine Olthoffe his Ensigne bearer, and of Captaine Herman Olthoffe, they were bothe hurt. The Ensigne bearer also of Captaine Comput, standing vpon the Citie Rampere, was with a Cannon shot, slaine in the place.

The 9. daie, the Messenger returned with Letters from the Prince

A notable historie of the ciuill

Prince and the Estates, to the Citie, promising to ayde the Citie, and raise the Campe of the Enemie. And againe, the night followyng, came in two Citezens, sayng that the ayd was coming on, whiche should helpe the Citie.

The 11. daie, the Hoxlemen of the Enemie trouped on from Dinnen by Westwyke, towards the Wood, who were brauely haussed with greate Denaunce, from the Coune, to the greate losse of their people.

The 12. of the saied Moneth, there was a sallie and a Skirmishe made, to the hurte of the Enemie, in whiche, one Willyam Dorth, Captaine Olthoffe his Sergeaunt, was hurt to death, and dyed the next morrow: On which daie in the Sermon while, there came to the Gate, a man at Armes on Horseback, very wel armed, who was receiued into the Coune: But when the Soldiers sawe, that he was none of the wisest, or rather a counterfeit, thei thrust him out of the Gates, after the Sermons were ended, and slue him with Harquebouze shot, keeping behinde with them his Horse and Armour.

The 16. and 17. daie the Enemie battered the Coune, and thesame Euenyng, in token thei had obtained a victorie of Hegemans people, the Enemie trailed an Ensigne at his horse taile, and made Bonifiers rounde about the Citie, as though thei would haue assaulted it with fiers.

The fire taketh holde in
Greenwyke.

The 18. daie, the Enemie shotte fier into many places of the Citie, in so muche that at one tyme, the Citie was all on a light fier, by reason whereof, there were 70. houses burnt. By this fier, was muche victuall, and other Munitions burnte, to the greate losse of the inhabitants. Diuerse houses in Duintgerstreate, through the greate diligence of the Citezens, were saved: and so had there been also in many other places, if the soldiers had not garded the Rampares, because the Enemie costed all alongest one side of the Citie with Ensigne displayed, as though he would haue giuen the assault, whiche he might easily haue doen, by reason that in many places, the Diches were hard frozen vp. The same daie, about the Euenyng, the Enemie sent two Trompetts to sommon the Citie in his Maiesties name, and to peeld it self vnto the Prince of Parma, as Captaine Generall, and to the Count of Remmenberg as Lieutenant, and

The Enemy
sommoneth
the Citie.

Gouernour

gouvernour of Friselande, and so, thei should depart with bagge and baggage. Whom, Captaine Frauncis Platte, in the name of all the reste of the Captaines, answered: That thei kepte the Citie in the behalfe of his Maestie, of Archduke Matthias of Austriche, as Captaine Generall, of the Prince of Orange, his Lieutenaunt, and of the Estates: And that thei had none other thyng, for the Count of Rennenberg to commaunde, but Bulletttes and powder: and therefore wished them quietly departe, without thei liked to be saluted with Cannon shotte. The same night, a messenger was dispatched towards Campen, to declare vnto them, what losse thei had receiued by fier.

The 19. daie, the Enemie, moste diligently went aboote, to shoote fire again into the Citie, but it was to no purpose. This night, there came a messenger into the Citie: who saied, that he had cast awaie his letters, whiche he had of the Estates, because he feared (as he saied) thei carried no good newes with them: and within one houre after, there came in the taile of hym, three other Citezens, agreyng all with one voice, that there was no aide in the whole worlde ready: for, thei saied, that the people of the Hegemans was discomfited, and the Schluse and Bloczeell forsaken: whereupon, the nexte daie followyng, ensued greate trouble and dissention: For, many of the Papistticall Citezens and others, cried out and saied, that it was reason a Drumme should bee sent to the Enemie, and the Citie to bee rendred vp. Howbeit, there were certaine Souldiers, and all the reformed citezens, whiche would none of that, who, bothe with faire speeches, & also with theatyring wordes, saied: that thei would rather kill one an other, then thei would so yeld vnto the Enemie, considering, that thei had no want of victualles: In so muche, that many honest and constant Citezens, did weare that daie, bothe Armour and weapon vnder their cloakes: Some others, greuously accused the Prince and the Estates, because thei had not holpen certaine Cities, whiche had been besieged, as, Dopslach, Delffziell, Couerde, Maestricht, Harlem, and Fiericzea, could largely witnesse, neuerthelesse, the reste stood stoutly to their treckle, so that in the ende, the trouble and sedition was suppressed. And sone after, there came a Drumme to the gate, bringeing letters from captaine Gedeon Pameren, praiyng that he might haue

A division in
Steenwyke.

A notable historie of the ciuill

Some hope
of ayde.

haue his souldiers deliuered for other prisoners, or els for a monethes wages, whiche was graunted hym. In the euenyng, the Enemie, very diligently fought, to shoote more Fire into the Towne, but it was to no purpose. This night, came in the faithfull and vertuous seruauit of the Countrie, Matthias Ries, bringyng with hym good newes: sayng, that the Estates were makyng of the moste diligent preparation that was possible, to aide the Citie, as also it appeared by the letters of the Estates, whiche refreshed againe the hartes of al the white liuered knightes of the Towne: and this night, Herman Henric, and George Waterwike with one of Hans Urancquebourg Souldiers, were sent out of the Citie.

The 21. of Nouember, there issued, aboute the daie breake, out of the East gate, 70. shotte, who laie hidd in a secret place, untill some of Westwike Campe came that waie: And then, with the aide of the horsemen of the Citie, thei sette vpon them, and caried awaie with them 11. horses, with a Charrette and Chariot, and a victualler, slayinge luche, as would not goe with them. This victualler, had about him in gold, to the worth of 20. Florins: and when he was examined, he saied, that he thought in his opion, that the Enemie meant to plant the greate Ordnance in Eastwike, and batter the Citie on that side, or els cast fier into it, for the doyng of it the more mischiefe, but it proued nothyng.

The 22. the Enemie sent a Dromme for certaine prisoners whiche thying the Captaine of the Towne denied hym, for that daie, because he vnderstoode not of the sedition, that had been in the Citie, by reason of the ill newes, and former fier. The Drome saied, that the Counte by reason of this refusall, would hang all those prisoners whiche were ours, and that thei should heare of other newes shortly: but he was answered againe, that if thei so did, thei would in like maner, deale with the prisoners, whiche thei had of theirs.

The 23. daie, the Enemie beganne to caste vp a mightie and strong Trench from Eastwike, aboute the winde Milne hill: and towardes euenyng, he brought therher, three companies of Souldiers: But as the horsemen trouped on the side of the Citie, some of them were slaine with Musket shotte, and the same
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and the 24. daie, he also ramforced that Trench, and the watch
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Counesmen, so tickled them with their ordenaunce, there came
nothyng of it.

The 29. daie, money was cried vp to the double valure, to
paie the souldiers withall. The nexte morrowe, certaine issued
out at the Wood gate, towarde the Eastbridge, to cathe a
souldier, that was laden with Gambons of Bacon and Butter:
who beyng talked with, saied: that the Couite of Remmenbergue
was gone to Groenyng to take vp money, for the appaisyng of
the mutinous souldiers. And further told, that our aide was ga-
thered together at Wintorne, about 3 wolle, and that their hor-
men, and sixe Ensignes of footemen, were marched towarde
Hauelt, to staie the aide.

The first of December: the weather whiche had of long fa-
uoured the Enemie, beganne to alter: and fell to rainyng, blow-
yng, and blusteryng. And this Euenyng, there issued out of the
West gate, about fourtie souldiers, to surpise the Pioners, but
whē thei found no Pioners there, there issued out of the Wood
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as thei satte aboute the fier side, and gaue many their deathes
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sides, two of Hans Platte his souldiers, bringyng awaie with
them not withstandyng, some spoile.

The thirde daie, about eight of the Clocke in the Mornyng,
thei sallied out vpon the Enemie, whom thei chased out of Wel-
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with the spoile of the Armour and weapon of fourtie souldiers,
besides cloakes and other apparell. This night, was the enemy
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The Enemy
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A notable historie of the ciuill

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The Enemy
driven out of
his Trench
with fire.

A notable historie of the ciuill

driven out of his Trenches, with a balles of wilde fier, whiche the Councillmen had caste into the saied Trenches.

The fourth daie, the Enemy forsooke his little Trenches, whiche laie wholly aboute the Citie: and the same euenyng, thei beganne to sette open the Dnniger gate, whiche had been rampard vp with yearth. The night ensuyng, there issued out again about thirtie shotte, who haussed the body of the Watche with a liuely volce of shotte: and in the meane while, other thirtie sette vpon the Trenches, whiche was but slenderly manned, some of whiche thei slue. This night also, came into the Citie, twoo of our messengers, who brought good newes of our aide.

The fift daie, Dnniger gate, was sett so wide open as that a 150. Souldiers and Horses, went out of it, where thei made an hott skirmishe with the Enemy, who, so forsooke his Trenches, as that he was driven from al the Trenches that were betwene Dnniger gate, and the Wood gate, whiche was driven open with the force of a Ballet, for the sauyng of our men from the greate Ordnance of the Enemy. This night, our men gaue the Enemy thre Alarmes, at the first of whiche, he shotte of twise against Dnniger Gate, howbeit there was no hurte doen.

The seuenth daie, thei beganne to bulde vp a counter scarfe before Dnniger gate: wherevpon, there came out of the Wood twoo Cornettes of horsemen, and a bande of Almain horsemen: but so soone as thei were come into the Southe parte of the Campe, the Enemy began to sette hymself in order, as though he would haue giuen the Alarme: and then thei sent many shotte to the counter scarfes of the Citie, and setting vpon the Trenches, draue out the Enemy. This night, the Enemy had sixe Alarmes, so lustely giuen hym, as that he tooke no reste at all. And our men had a signe of fire giuen them, vppon Coldervene Tower, as it was promised theim. But after that our aide was once passed the Blacke water, the Enemy beganne to make a Bridge of boates ouer the Riuer of Ae, and so filled lowe plaine ground with faggottes and other thinges, that he might come from one quarter of his Campe to the other.

The ninth daie in the moynyng, certaine Souldiers issued out, and tooke awaie twoo satte Dren from the Enemy. Then
was

was there Alarme sounded in the Campe, where vpon, the Enemie beganne to shewe his hedde: and had placed a band of East-wike Wood, and therefore, for that daie, were no more sallies made. The souldiers of the Toun likewise, had sett vp a bande of horsemen, for the daie ly makynge of their sallies, ouer whom, thei appointed Captaine Girard Holten of Gelbrelande, a man of great valure, and Lieutenaunt to Conrad Edenrats of Ste-enwike.

The tounes men, set vp a bande of horsemen.

The tenth daie, a sallie was made as before, in whiche thei tooke three prisoners, and because one of them would not goe on, he was slaine, and one of the other was deliuered the same daie vpon his raunsome. And as our Captaines had deliuered the prisoner vnto the Drome, there was a Canon shot came out of the Campe, whiche so sprinkled the dirte aboute their eares, as that bothe the Dromme, and the prisoner, were in greate danger of their liues.

The eleuenth daie, the horsemen of the Toun, assembled theim selues in the Market place, and had gotten vp, vppon the Rampares with their Guidon, as if a band of horsemen had entered the Toun: Wherevpon, the Enemie beganne to breake doune the bridge towardes Nieslicke, but thei were soone driuen thence, by certaine souldiers whiche issued out of the toun who brought with them suche instrumentes, as thei were wonted to vse, after some small skirmishe. The same daie, the Enemie put twoo Kine into the Medowes lyng on the toun side, thinkyng thereby, to entrappe some of our menne, because thei laied in ambushe many horsemen and others, whiche thyrng our people suspectyng, saied vnto the Enemie, that the Kine were ouer leane, and therefore willed them to sende fatter thether.

The 12. of the saied Moneth, the Enemie discharged three Cannon shot vpon the Toun, for a watche worde: wherevpon, bothe, the Launces, and shot, shewed them selues abroade in the plaine fieldes, whether also were come, from Westerwyke two Companies of footemen. And then thei beganne to entrench about Dmen, that thei might keepe backe our ayde, but it was to no purpose. The same Euenyng were sent two Messengers to aske counsell about the affaires of the warres; to get ayde, and to shew the estate of our Citie and the estate of the Enemy. The

Wh. s.

Souldiers

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Souldiers who had the conuayng of the Messengers, fell immediately vpon the Enemye and slewe thre of the Watche, making a greate and long Alarm vpon them.

The 13. daie, thei sallied out twise, to see if thei could cathe any, but at last Gerarde Holt, tooke an Harquebouser: and after he had taken his Harquebouze from hym, he caried hym awaie Prisoner, who was recovered, by two bandes of Horsemen, and two Ensignes of Footemen, but yet thei caried awaie the Harquebouze with them.

This night before Midnight, were seene two signes of fire, and an other after midnight, accordingly as y Messengers were enioyned to doe, the meaning whereof, our Captaines right well knewe.

The 14. daie, the Enemye shewed hymself with foure Squadrons of Horsemen, who at last, put them selues in order of battail: At whiche tyme, the Counte of Rennenbergue came thither, who wheeling about, went from him, the Enemies discharging all their Pistolles, to honour hym withall. Then, the Countes men, discharged a greate peece of Ordnance against the Troupe, and against Westerwyke Campe also, and likewise against Hauttroyffe quarter, where he lighted from his Horse. There was also an other token of fire that night seene towards Schulse.

The Count
of Rennen-
berg, goeth
to see the
Horsemen.

The Souldiers
of the
towne breake
the Ice.

The 15. daie, because the water in the Ditches was hard frozen ouer, the Souldiers went out to breake the Ice, and in the meane while, there went ouer sower of the enemies driupng an Ore before them towards Eastwyke. Whiche thynge, when our men whiche were breakyng of the Ice, saw, went, and tooke away the Ore from the enemye: and although many of the Souldiers of the Enemye, came thether to recover it, yet did thei nothyng in it, because our Souldiers had in haste driuen it to the Towne. This night about 11. of the Clocke, the Enemye sounded a great Alarme, bothe with Drumes, and Trumpettes. And at that tyme also was fire cried at Gielhorne, and soone after, many houses were seene on a light fire: in so muche, that the Enemye discharged thre Cannons for the watch word, that the Horsemen might get together. There was also a greate noyse, of aboue an hundred Cartes and Horses heard, whiche came out

of the Countrey of Drenthe; but when the daie appeared, bothe, the cartes and also the carters were cleane gone: for thei whiche had set Giethorne on fire, came not nere it. The next Mornynge A fozte of
of Cartes. in the euenynge, Stuper his companie, had broken the Isle, betweene Dnniger Gate, and Giest Gate, and so euen vnto the Wood Gate. This night likewise, was a greate noyse, bothe of Cartes and Horses in the Enemies Campe.

The 17. daie, issued out seuen Souldiers to entrappe some of the Enemies nere vnto the Easterne brydge, thre of whiche were byon Fredericke Lutgene his lande, and the other fower in the Banke ditche. But so soone as two of the Enemies of Easterwyke Campe sawe, that the aforesaid thre, would needes charge them, thei purposed forthwith to saue the selues through the lightnesse of their heeles. Whiche thynge when the other fower sawe, thei left their ambushynge, and tooke the one, and the other escaped with leappynge ouer the Riuer of Ae. When thei had brought the prisoner to the Towne, he was examined, who saied, that our people had been at Giethorne, and taken Dytho of Sauton Drossat of Harderwyke prisoner, slaine his sonne, grievously wounded his guarde corpes, and put his Souldiers to flight. And besides, that our men were come to Heppell, with 23. Ensignes of Footemen, whom the Enemy thought to remoue, going thether but with 10. Ensignes of Footemen, & a certayne number of Horsemen, but it was all in vaine. And further he saied, that the knight of Nieuoorte, was in the Countrey of Groenynge with a great number of Souldiers. There was also a Promme sent to the Enemy, to knowe whether he would redeeme his Souldier with a raunsome or no. And he saied that he would, howbeit, he threated for all that to hang him, so soone as he had hym, if so be that thei of the Towne would not doe it before: but thei of the Towne, accordynge to their custome, and former promise, would not doe it, and the reason whiche moued the enemy to cause him to be haged was this, that he went from the Campe without their leaue and licence. The same daie, the twoo Souldiers whiche brake the Isle of the Ditches, set vpon a Souldier of the enemy, who had giuen them some occasion. Havyng none other weapons about them, but the tooles wherewith thei brake the Isle, one of whiche, named Ihon Pontieu, as he was cou-

Ph. ii.

pled

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The crueltie
of the enemy

pled to the enemy, was slaine with an Harquebouse shott, and after he was dead, the enemy gaue hym many a stappe with his dagger, cryng with a loude voyce: wee are the Souldiers of Quater, and thus will we handle all the rest of you, ye Horse eaters. This their crueltie, restranged the hartes of many from them, and encouraged many, to withstande them to the vtermost. This night, about twelue of the Clocke, came into the Towne, our three Messengers of the Citie, bringing newes that thei had left at the Blacke Sculse 36. companies of Souldiers, and at Bergmer Bridge 300. horse, comming to ayd vs. There was also a token of fire, made vpon the Tower, which when the Enemy sawe, he discharged a greate peece of Ordnance, but (thanks be to God) did no hurt at all, and the bullet was founde in the Churchyarde.

The 18. daie being rainie and mistie, there was a sallie made, to know whether the Enemy that laie so still, was strong or no: and after thei had skirmished a while, thei retired on either side, by reason of the mist: But about eight of the Clocke at night the Enemy gaue a false Alarme, and shot of, twise.

The 19. daie, the Enemy shott of thise, whiche was, as it was thought, a certaine watch worde: for, three Horsemen came from the Wood, and the Enemy sounded the Alarme: and there might be seene many Souldiers marche without weapon from Westerwike, towards the Wood. This night, about midnight came into the Towne, certaine Messengers with charge and letters of Colonell Norris an Englishe man, aduertising them that the Enemy had been the 18. daie, with 11. Ensignes of Foote men, and sixe Cornettes of Horsemen at the Blacke Sculse. After that the Army of the Estates, was retired from Heppell, the Enemy thought to haue discomfited and ouerthrowen the three Companies whiche were left at the saied place: howbeit, thei met there, with suche an encounter, as that two of their Captaines were slaine in the place, two Ensignes taken, about 500. Souldiers slaine, the Armour and weapon of 500. men left behinde, and an Ensigne bearer taken prisoner: and because, that after the entre of these Messengers, a token of fire was giuen vpon the Tower, the Enemy shott of a greate peece of Ordnance.

A discomfiture
of the
Enemy at
the Blacke
Sculse.

The

The twentieth daie, there was so greate an hurly burly in the Campe of the Enemy, as that thei might be heard crying, euen to the Rampars of the Towne, money, money: but because certaine of our Captaines went out with some of their Souldiers into their emptie trenches, to vnderstand something moze of this hurly burly, some of the enemies perceiuing them, there was anon plentifull dealing of Harquebouze shott, on either side, and besides, the Enemy let flie a Cannon shott amongst the thickest. Then beganne some of the Captaines of the Towne to make a counterscarfe befoze the Wood Gate, which was an hazardous thynge to doe. And soone after, the Enemy fell on crying out and sayng, ha pooze soules, get you out, and looke for Walter Hedgemans: Then answered the Townesmen them againe sayng: It were very small honour to vs to serue suche traicours: but (if thei) wee will goe to the Blacke Sculse, and Heppell, and wee doubt not, but to finde there, both Ensignes, Armour, Weapon, and Page of yours. After midnight, the Enemy once againe discharged three Cannon shott, and the Horsemen of the Wood shoked on, and eftsoones was a noyse in the Campe, crying, Arme, Arme.

The 21. daie, thei made a sallie, and tooke a Page, who being examined, could saie nothing: wherevpon, thei shote his head like a frier, and then dzaue hym out of the Towne. And about three of the Clocke in the afternoone, the Enemy shott of seven Cannon shott, besides sixe balles of wilde fire, one of whiche lighted in the plain befoze the Towne, and an other vpon Marshall Tongeren his Barne, whiche, through the greate diligence of the Citizens was quenched. The same daie also, the Citizens and the Souldiers, had deuised an enterpryse against Eastwike: how be it, the Captaines frustrated their purpose. This night also, went fower Messengers out of the Towne, whose conuaie, caused a great Alarme, in bothe the Campes.

The 22. daie, thei went on, with their said counterscarfe, and the Enemy payd a prisoners raunsome. who had been a Moneth prisoner, it was thought that thei did it, to the ende that by hym, thei might the better vnderstande the state of the Towne. This night ensuyng, there came into the Towne, two Messengers, who brought with them 40. Souldiers, caryng on their backs

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700. poundes of Gunpowder in leather bagges, and an Ensigne, whiche the Enemie had lost at the Blacke Schluse.

The 23. daie in the afternoone, some of Heppell made a road to Steenwike, and fiered certaine houses at Dnnen. When the Enemie sawe this, he marched with a great companie towarde the place, and the Tounes men sallied out, and brauely skirmished with hym, where many, bothe on the one side and the other were slaine: and yet but one Tounes man, whose name was Francis Platt. Then the Enemie, caried awaie his dead, bothe, on hors backe, and also by wagon, and lost besides, a good sorte of Horses. The Ensigne that was brought from the Blacke Schluse, was caried in despite, rounde about the Toun vpon the Rampars. This night also, certaine Messengers whiche were gone out of the Toun, came in againe, by reason that the Moone shooke so bright, scarping thereby, to bee discovered. This night likewise, the Enemie beganne to entrench in Iffene waite, but the next morrowe, the Tounes men had cast it quite and cleane downe.

The 24. daie at night, Captaine Conrade of Steenwike, Maister Ziger-ter-Steigh and others, went out of the Toun, whiche those Souldiers had brought in the powder aforesaid, meaning to goe to Heppell, to deuise and conclude with the Generall of the Arme, and the counsell for the warres, about some enterpryse and meanes, that might best serue for their deliuerance and ayde: but as thei were about the little trench whiche was cast by, vpon the waite aforesaid, and should passe over a narrowe planke, whiche remained vpon the passage of the East bridge, the Enemie was come thether to cast by againe, the saied trench, and so soone as thei were mett, either side was amazed, but by and by, let flye their shot one against an other. Then sounded the Enemie, the Alarme: and there vpon our men retired, because thei knewe not the number whiche came against them: And as thei went over the foresaid planke, three Englishmen fell into the Riuer of Ae, and so were drowned. And forthwith, the Enemie had the Alarme giuen hym on either side, to the end he should not vnderstande our peoples meanyng and deuise.

The 25. of the saied Month, Captaine Francis Platt was buried in our Lady Church, and the 26. certaine Messengers were

The Enemy
& the tounes
men encoun-
ter at a fowrd

were sent out, to declare the state of the Towne.

The 27. daie at night, the Enemy beganne to cast a trench before Dnniger Gate, to keepe them backe from falling. This night also were certaine houses burnt at Dnnen. This daie likewise, the Enemy made a passage, from Easterwike Campe, ouer the Riuer of Ae, towards the little trench of Illueniger Bancke.

The 28. daie in the mornynge, Dnnen houses, were againe seene on fire, and it was thought that the Enemy did it, to the ende that we should haue no shelter for our sautie. The Enemy also, caused certaine long peeces of Timber to bee caried awaie: and in the afternoone, sent a Trompet to the Wood Gate, summonynge the Towne to render it self into the handes of George de Lalayng: who was answered, that thei could not doe it, with out thei should lose their honoz, and breake their othe, whiche thei meant not to doe, so long as thei had one droppe of bloud in their bodies. When the Captaines were retourned from the saied Trompet, thei fearyng, that some trouble, herevpon, might arise amongst the Citezens, tolde thein, that the Enemy had lost two Gentlemen, and thinkyng them, to bee taken prisoners by some of the Towne, was sent to craue their deliuerance, in payng their raunsome.

The Enemy
summoneth
the Towne.

The 29. daie in the mornynge, thei sallied out at Dnniger Gate, but it was to no purpose, because there was neuer a man come from the Campe. At night, the Musketers were placed before the wood Gate, who shrewdly galled the Horsemen which shocked to and fro the Watte.

The 30. daie, about the daie breake, there came certaine messengers into the Towne, who brought from the Estates 1600. Florins to paie the Souldiers. The same daie also, came one of the Souldiers of the Enemy vnto Dnniger Gate, mouynge with vile and sleaundersous speeches and deedes, the townes men to anger, who was slaine there, for his great paines. This mornynge, Letters were brought from the Generall of the Campe, and from Colouell Stapper, by whiche, one Thon van Becrenbrooke Thon Stappers Lieutenaunt, was appointed Captaine, in Captaine Francis Platt his place, lately slaine, and the saied Lieutenauntship, was giuen to Michael Waghens of Embrique.

The Estates
sende money
to paie the
Souldiers.

Th. iij.

The

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The 31. of the saied Moneth, as our ayde, had giuen the Alarme to Mienene, there sallied brauely out of the Tounne, Capitaine Conrade of Steenwike, Thon Verberg, Capitaine Cornput his Lieutenaunt, and Lazarus of Austliche, Capitaine Olthoff, his Lieutenaunt: who, so liuely coupled them selues in skirmishe together, as that many, on either side, lost their liues therein: For, on the Enemies parte were slaine an Ensigne, certaine Hozlemen, and a greate many Souldiers: and on our side were slaine Hans de Drees, and some Souldiers. In this skirmishe, the Tounnes men fought as couragiously as Lyons: for they drave the Enemy, cleane out of all his Trenches of Westwike: broke one peece of Ordnance, and pegged or poysoned an other: Thei tooke besides, two Batches of hot bread, and caried them to the Tounne. This night also, the Tounnes men beganne to cast a Trench, nere to Dnniger Gate, whiche ranne as farre as the enemies trench, whiche very sely serued the Tounne Souldiers for their sallipng, and that, greatly greued the Enemy.

A liuely skir
mishe made
with the E-
nemie.

1581.

The firste of Ianuary 1581. The Enemy sounded a false Alarme in the moynng, placing his whole force vpon the plaine fallowes lying vnder Dnnen, where an house was sette on fire: he shott of also twoo peeces of Ordnance at the Tounne, thinking thereby, and the helpe of the Mist, to coule our men out of the Tounne, to be aduenged of their former daies losse, as it was told vs by a Dromme, who was sent that daie thether, for twoo prisoners. Howbeit, the Lorde GOD who euer defendeth his, shewed therein a wonderfull peece of worke: For, our menne were no soner gone out of the Tounne, but that the Mistes brake vp, and that the aire became so cleare, as that our menne, might easely perceiue and see, all the ambushes, whiche were laied for them: in so muche that the Enemy losse moe of his menne, then we had losse the daie before, and so for that tyme, wee returned to the Tounne, without any losse at all.

The 2. daie, the Enemy discharged two peeces of Ordnance vpon the Droners, as thei were labouryng about the counter-scarfe, & casting of the trenches. And this night, the Magistrate and certaine Captaines, made a signe with fire, whiche reede, no whit liked the reste of the Captaines, by reason that thereby, somthing was reuealed, which thei would not haue had knowe.

The

The 3. daie, an other Trench was cast vp, betwene Westwike and Ae, because thei had losse suche a nōber of their people the lasse daie of the former moneth. This night, about 8. or 9. of the clocke, was a very greate thondring of the Cannon heard, about Blockzill, besides a great nōber of Harquebouzes & Muskets: and after that, a signe of fire was made at Blockzill Hill.

The fourth daie in the mornynge, messengers came to the Toune, who brought newes, that the same cannonyng and harquebouzyng was dooen in a tollite and triumphe, by Chierry Snoy of North Hollande, who was gotten into his Trenches, by reason of the victorie of Hattemerbridge. Where, Drossat, that traitor his father, and his schoole maister, with many other moe, were taken prisoners. And that Walter Peghemans also, and twoo of his Captaines were deliuered: and that the Rotters of the Estates were at Gelumuide, comming to aide them. There was also this daie, a sallie made, with the losse of twoo or three hoyses, and a souldier of the Enemie. And besides, the little Trench of the Enemie ouer against Dnurger gate, was ouerthrowne, without any resistaunce on the behalfe of the Enemie. There wer this daie likewise seen, aboue an hundred emptie Wagons commynge out of Drenthe, whiche were all laden with a parte of the campe.

The fifte of this monethe, there beganne a very greate trouble, and as it were a sedition, to arise as well emongest the Citizens as the souldiers, & that through a mischeuous mistakynge of a matter, by reason of a ladder of coardes, whiche the Magistrat and Captaines had caused to be wrought, and made none els priuie to it, so that it bredde a vengeable suspicion in the heddies of many. This night at tenne of the clocke, Captaine Conrad of Steenwike, Olthoff his Licutenaunt, and Lazarus of Austriche with thirtie souldiers moe, went out of the Toune, to goe to Deppell, for the bringyng foreward of our aide. Who, the night followyng made a signe with fire, declaryng thereby, that thei were come thether, saufe and sound.

The sixt daie, our men woorkyng about the counterscarffe, kept watche abroad, that thei might the boldier trauell: and against this Ward, certaine Launces and others set themselves, howbeit thei losse by it, about thye or fower hoyses. This night

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the Enemie about midnight shot of twoo peeces of ordenaunce, and one after midnight, whiche doying was thought to bee as a watch word: for the Townesmen and thei also whiche lay in the Taine, or linkes, tooke it bothe that night, and the night ensuyng, in steade of many and soondrie Alarmes.

The seuenth daie, the Enemie had many Alarmes giuen hym before daie, wherefore bothe thei of Westwike, and also thei of Eastwike, putt theim selues in battaile araiie towardees Onnen: whereupon, our men shrewdly tossed them, but did them no greate hurte.

Theight daie at night, two messengers came and told, that our aide would be come within tenne daies, and couple with the Enemie, but that was nothyng. This night after the messengers were come in, a signe of fire was giuen: wherefore the Enemie shot of thise, for a watche woorde, and then all his horse men and footemen got to armes.

The ninth daie of Ianuary, the Enemie caused the Toun to bee sommoned once againe, offering by his letters the lastte grace, that thei might sauely departe with bodiees and gooddes. These letters were written to the Captaines, Burroughmaisters, Souldiers and Citezens, conteinyng at the first, very louyng wordes, but theatnyng in the ende, to kill the children in their cradles. Wherevnto the Trompette was aunswered by worde of mouthe: That if so be there were no aide from the Estates neare at hande, yet that thei could not with their honour, render vp the Toun, vpon these brauyng and theatnyng Letters: and that it would cosse a dearer price, then a peece of writte in papar: with which answere, the said Troppet returned. This night about eight of the clocke, there was a great fire in Measterwike Campe. There went certaine messengers also out of the Toun, who likewise carred the saied letters of George La- layng, to the Counsell for the warres, who beeyng sauely come thether, made a signe of fire vppon Coldeuaine. The Enemie that night, had planted his Artillerie in other places of his cāp: as though he intended to haue enterprised some other newe matter.

The tenth of this monethe, the Enemie caused a prisoner to bee sent for, that by hym, he might vnderstande, the state of the
Toun,

Toune : but because there was ouer great a ransome asked, he was not deliuered. And our aide at Giethorne, gaue the enemy the Alarme, wherfore, thei shot thise of for a watchword. About the euenyng, the tounsmen sallied out, but it was to no purpose.

The eleuenth of the saied monethe, our people of Giethorne gaue the Enemy diuerse Alarmes, daie and night : and the Enemy shot of sixe tymes, and then shewed hym self with sixe companies of Souldiers, and certaine horsemen, in order of Battle, about the hie water Mill.

The twelfth daie, as the Souldiers of the Toune were breakeyng the Ice, there were certaine Roiters whiche troubled the: Whereupon, certaine Harquebouziers went out to keepe them plaie. And besides, the Giethornistes plied the Enemy daie and night with Alarmes : And at night, twoo messengers came in, who brought promisses of their deliuerance, bothe by letters and by worde of mouthe, and a further aucthorisyng of Harman Olthoffe.

The thirteene daie of January, a bill was made of all the Kine, Horses, Swine, Corne, and all other kindes of Victualles: And a kirmishe also was betweene our Giethornistes and the Enemy. And at night twoo signes of fire was seen at Giethorne : and the night followyng the Enemy had twoo Alarmes giuen. Aboute the daie breake, the Enemy called to our Watche, and asked theim, if thei had eaten all their Dogges and Cattes: tellyng them further, that thei would before it wer long, come into the Toune, and hang vp Olthoffes Souldiers vpon the Rampares: and besides, that our lookyng for aide was in vaine, because we were like to haue none: and that we should bee deliuered euen as Delfzill was, where in deede our aide was moste manifestly to be seen, whiche wordes thei spake, to discourage the Souldiers of the Toune.

The fourteenth of January, there came out from about the Bulwoorkes, about thirtie horsemen, shockyng firste on towarde Eastwike Trench, and anon towarde Westwike, somewhat nere the Artillarie of the Enemy, but it was to no purpose, for the Enemy laye quietly in his Trenches. This night about nine of the clocke, sixe messengers wer sent, to wit, foure Souldiers, and twoo Citezens, to haue some assurance of aide,
from

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from the Counsell of the warres . And afterward, the Giethor-
nists gaue the Enemie three seuerall Alarmes: and so thei did
the next night followyng.

The fifteene daie of this monethe, George de Lalayng, sent
by a Dromme, a despitesfull letter to Captaine Ihon Cozput,
and besides, there were certaine letters witten in Frenche by
the Prince of Dreuge, and sent to the Duke of Alençon, whiche
were intercepted, and the Commentaries that were made of
them. These letters caused many mutinous Souldiers to mu-
tin, because thei might not knowe the contentes of them.

The sixteene daie before Dinner, there issued out certaine
horsemen, and harquebouziers, and brought home with theim a
Countrie man, of the lande of Hessen, who knewe nothyng of
the estate of the Enemie. About noone, the Enemie came forth
to anger the Isle breakers: wherevpon certaine Souldiers set
vpon them in skirmishe, where thei hurte some of the enemies:
and emongest the reste, was an ouer hazardous Malon slaine,
and pitefully dealt withall, in the reuenge of Ihon Montieu of
Northdike. In the afternoone, an other sallie was made, as be-
fore, where thei got a Page prisoner, who gaue them sufficient
knowledge of the estate of the Enemie. This daie also, was
there a greate controuersie betweene the Magistrate and the
Captaines, aboute the Souldiers presse. And this night came
backe the fire messengers aforesaid, who brought newes, that
vpon Fridaie next, our aide would be at the Wood.

The eightene, the Campe of Giethorne remoued before the
daie breake, and came to the Wood, setting many houses on
fire, where the Roiters, and the Campe of the fower companies
were dyuen awaie. Then the Tounesmen sallied out in greate
nombers, brauely skirmisshyng on euery side: where many on
either parte were slaine, and taken prisoners. After this the E-
nemie marched verry strongly towarde the Wood, meanyng
to charge the Englishmen, and discomfite them: but in the ende
he was enforced, for all his iolly cannonyng of about three score
bullettes, bothe vpon them of the Toun, and vpon them in the
Wood, to retire with greate losse. And his losse had been farre
greater, if the Tounesmen and their assistantes, had had any
watche woorde betweene theim. Then beganne the weather to
breake

The En-
glishe men
ready to set
vpon the
Toun.

breake by and thawe, and to be very Mistie, whiche greatly aduantaged the Englishmen, and those whiche laie in the wood. Who, in the night retired from the wood to Blockzill, giuyng vs notice thereof by the signes of fire.

The nineteene of January, the Enemie a freshe summoned the Toune by letters, containyng, that all Straungers and honest Citezens should bee licensed, to departe with their bodies and gooddes: but that he would haue the periured ones to be deliuered into his handes, that he might execute the Lawe vppon theim. Braggyng and boastyng further, in liyng maner, that our aide had charged the very weakest corner of his Campe, and were with shame inough, repulsed and chased cleane awaie lest many of their weapōs behinde them, had lost much of their victuall, besides certaine of their Captaines. He called also for the prisoners, and threatened likewise to hang our prisoners, ere many daies were at an ende: Howbeieit, Captaine Conrade of Steenwike and others, who were appointed for that purpose, answered hym againe by worde of mouthe: that it was not lawfull for them, so to forget, and breake their othe: because thei had sworne to the vnited Prouinces, to keepe the Toune, so long as thei had any life within theim: and therefore would obserue the same still, lookyng for whatsoeuer it should please the Lorde God to late vpon theim. And as concernyng the prisoners, thei answered by letters, that thei were contented to keepe the accustomed lawe of Armes, and therefore desired to haue in wryting a specification from the prisoners, because thei neuer thirsted after their blood: and that if thei hung any of them, thei should be assured, that thei would doe the like. Whiche letters were sent by a prisoner, who, vpon his othe, was sent from the Enemie, to them of the Toune, and was afterward deliuered with the reste of the prisoners.

The 20. daie, there came two messengers into the Toune, bryngyng newes, of certaine succour. The same daie, the Enemie offered to obserue, the lawe at Armes, as was meete, to witte, to deliuer a prisoner for a monethes wages, or els prisoner for prisoner. There was also a Copie taken of that despightful letter of the Enemie, and put vppon a Doles ende without the Toune whiche was pitched before his Campe, smally for his honour:

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nour and pleasure. These saied Messengers declared, that the cause why our succour retired from the Wood, was for want of Victuall and Powder: and did further assure them, that the Lord of Nieuorte was marchyng on with 1800. men to ioyne with the Englishe men, for our ayde. At that tyme likewise, the Enemie sent the Townes men worde, that if thei would forbid their Souldiers the committynge of iniuries, that he would also doe the like to his.

The 21. daie, the Enemie raunsomed, and also deliuered, certaine prisoners, for a Houethes wages. He wrote likewise letters to the Captaines, wherevpon, might easily be coniectured, that he sought by cunnyng and practise to sowe dissention amongst the Companies.

The 22. daie, the Enemie, as before, deliuered his prisoners by the Dromme. This night, were certaine Messengers, a fresh sent, to declare the necessitie of the Towne, who, in the moynyng, made a signe with fire, that thei were sauisly got thether.

The 24. daie, a peece of Ordnance was heard shot of, for mer tynes, towardes Saint Johns Gate, and many Harquebouses also: wherevpon, our men issued out of the Towne, but to no purpose. And about the euenyng, thei made an other sallie, in whiche, thei tooke a Victuallers wife of Groenyng, who tolde them all the historie and successe, whiche the Enemie had, against the Lord of Nieuorte, and that he was returned to his Campe with greate losse, and merueilous shame: whiche thyng fell out happely, bothe for vs, and the Englishe men, whom the Enemy had so distressed, as that thei were driven to eate their horses. In so muche, that our case stood in poore estate, had not the Lord God prouide for vs the assistance of the Lord of Nieuorte and his Friselanders.

The English
me driven of
necessitie, to
eate their
horses.

The 25. of Januarie in the moynyng, a sallie was made, and two Countrey men taken, who confirmed all that, whiche the woman had saied. All this daie, was as greate shootyng of, of Harquebouses, heard about Oethorne, as was on the daie and night, immediatly before. And the Enemie also, had set two houses on fire about the hye water Dilles. He was also seene retiering from the Wood, with his baggage, and this night was heard a greate noyse of Waggones, and in the moynyng, were a
greate

greate number of the Royters Waggonns seen about the great Ordnance.

The 26. daie, was a sallie made, but all in vaine, because that the Royters of the Enemye, were ouer hastie in the chargyng of them. And about the euenyng, were seen a companie of Souldiers, marchyng towardes Siethorne, and at night were seene, signes of fire. There were likewise at sondrie tymes heard, both of Cannon and Harquebouze shott, aswell at Blockzill, as also at Saint Iohns Campe.

The 27. daie, were sallies made both euenyng and moorning, wherein, a Page was taken, who at large declared, how the Enemye had been euill dealt withall at Saint Iohns Campe: and that his Souldiers mutined for their wages, yea, some of them would not sticke to saie that they would teare in sunder their Ensignes. And at night, was a greate fire seen at Siethorne.

The 28. daie, the Counsellmen sent a Promme, for the deliuerie of certaine prisoners, but it was to no purpose: for the Enemye had other matters to doe. This daie, were fower sallies made, whereof, thre were in vaine: but in the fourth, a Husquetier was taken: who saied, that the Souldiers helde a counsell for their wages, whiche was promised them within fower daies, or els be brought into a better corner. There were a great many of Souldiers seene marchyng to and fro, laden with their baggage. This night, two Messengers came in, and thre went out, from whom, the signes of fire were seen: The newes were good whiche they brought from Saint Iohns Campe: and besides, that the good Knight of Rieuort, came with thre hundred Waggonns, laden with Victualles.

The 29. daie, certaine prisoners were deliuered vpon a Donethes wages, and some without raunsome, but spoyled of all their apparell: The night ensuyng, came out two Messengers: and the last daie of this Doneth, the Enemye beganne to cast his Trenches on the North Common: and then was there two sallies made, the one, at the Wood gate, and the other, at Dnniger gate: where, one of the enemies was slaine, and an other taken prisoner. This night, returned the twoo last Messengers, with the Lorde of Herodes Lieutenant, Gouvernour of Friselande, named Adrian Pennickes.

The

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The first of February, the Enemy shewed hym self with ten companies of Souldiers in Westwike, and with one Ensigne in Eastwike: where, he caused the place to be changed, and caused also certaine peeces of Artillary to bee brought on the other side: he brake likewise the Cannon Stockes, and placed them in the plaine fallowe fieldes about Westwike, keeping the depth of Ae altogether on hys. This night also went out two Messengers, but the Enemy chased them in again with heaue and hoe.

The seconde of this Moneth, to witt the night followyng, the saied Lorde of Percies Lieutenaunt, retourned towarde Oldmerct assuryng vs, that we should esloone, see our ayde.

The third daie, the Enemy beganne an other Trench, adioynyng to the other in North Common. This daie thei visited every house, and tooke an Inuentorie of all the Victualles: and thei, whiche saied thei had no Victualles, the Victualles whiche thei had, were taken from them, and giuen to the Souldiers. This daie, came flyng into the Market place thre Partriges, whiche the Souldiers tooke and ate: whiche was a notable token sent from God, betokenyng the tyme of the deliuerance of the Citie: for within thre weekes after we were delivered, euen as Captaine Cornput had interpreted it.

The fourth daie, the ayde came, accordyng to the saied Adrian Pennicke's promise, from Oldmerct, to the Wood, and the Enemy was driuen awaie by our Horsemen: And after that, the whole force of our Armie came together. Then the Enemy shot of, twise, at the Toun. And when he had so doen, he planted his Ordnance vpon the Trench in North Common. He shot of also, ten tymes at our ayde, and yet did no hurte: but our Ordnance paid them a little other wise, to the no small losse of his people. This daie, was begonne a Rampart, at North the newe gate, by whiche our ayde meant to victuall vs: for, thei encamped at the foete of Hiddingberg, on Steenwike Toun side.

The fift daie, beyng Sondae, a sallie was made, and in the skirmishe, pong Courade, the sonne of Captaine Conrade, was slaine with an Harquebouze shot. And on the other side, thei in the Wood, had a braue skirmishe with the Enemy: then the Enemy, couragiously got by against our men, vnto the toppe of Hiddingberg, but he was lustely receiued, and beaten backe to his

his losse. Whiles the Enemie laye in the Wood, Captaine Conrade, and Ihon Berenbrooke sallied out, and sette Sakerwicke Campe on fire, and after retourned with a iollie spoile. And the Enemie had discharged thre score Cannon shot at our Armie.

The sixte daie, the Enemie was driuen with all his forces, to keepe a continuall Warde: because our people oftentimes skirmished wth them.

The seueneth daie, our Souldiers tooke a prisoner, who tolde vs that Captaine Snater, was slaine the Sondaie before, as he was leadyng his menne against our Succours. But at this sallie, it was twentie to one, that the Enemie had not gotte Dnniger gate, but he was lustely, and courageously resisted and repulled. This daie, the Magistrate and Captaines, made a newe beue for Victualles, as aforesaid: and the same daie, was greater stoare of Victualles confiscked in poore mennes houses, then in riche, and all because thei were hidden. This night retourned into the Citie, fower Citezens, who brought good newes of certaine aide and deliuerance.

Ther of Steendicke make a newe bieuwe for victualles.

The ninth daie, our menne and the Enemie coupled together in a braue skirmishe, who losse many horses.

The eleuenth daie of this monethe, was an other skirmishe made, so that our menne receiued thre companies of Souldiers. And the nexte morowe in an Alarme, set fire on the Cannon stokes whiche were on the Hill hill and Common.

The thirteene daie, the Enemie casse vp an other Trench in the saied North Common, keepyng Steendicque Trench: And although that this Trench was hurtfull, bothe to vs, and ours, yet was there nothpyng saied, nor doen against it: So that the night ensuyng, the Enemie beganne to casse vp an other Trench in Pluecne waic, holden all in, with the Riuer of Ae, whiche greatly hindered vs: because that the messengers, whiche were gone out of the Toune, were enforced to retourne backe.

The fourteene daie, the Towneshmen on the daie tyme, had giuen vpon the Tower a signe of fire, whiche, thei of the Wood might well see, whereby thei vnderstoode, that Victualles grewe skant in the Toune. And besides for want of Wood, thei were faine to pull downe their houses to make thein fires.

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The Councelmen also sallied out vpon the hindermost Trench, whiche was caste vp in Plucene waie, but it was to no purpose: For thei were repulſed by the other Trenches, becauſe that thei whiche laye in the Wood, would not once helpe them: So that thei were driuen to retire, without byngyng to paſſe their purpoſe and deuife.

The fifteene daie, ſower Citezens entred the Toun without ſtaie, whiche was a woonder: becauſe the Enemie had ſette a watche rounde aboute the Toun, not aboute a ſtones caſt one from an other. This daie a ſigne with fire was giuen, that the Councelmen, were readie with their Bridges, to paſſe the Riuier of Ae, accordyng to the Generall of the Armes commaundement. The Councelmen alſo caſte vp certayne Trenches in the Garden diches, on the Nothe ſide of the Toun, out of whiche, the Souldiers of the Toun, might ſkirniſhe with the Enemie: In the meane while, the Bridges were with all poſſible ſpede, laied ouer the Riuier of Ae, to the ende, that our aide ſhould not haue any occaſion to ſtaye: and in the makyng of this Bridge, there fell out a meruailous ſtraunge caſe: For, whiles the Citezens, aboute nine of the clocke at night, were buſied aboute this Bridge, the Enemie in the nexte Trenches, tainted ſower of them, with the ſhot of ſome Harquebouze, one of whiche was Captaine Conrade, and yet not one of them once hurt.

The ſixteene daie, the Enemie made a Trench of Magōs againſt our Garden Trenches: and the nexte morrowe, a ſallie was made out of Dmiger gate, wherin was taken a Souldier and a woman, whiche woman was examined: and forthwith a Dronne was ſent towarde the Enemie, to knowe whether he would deliuer the priſoner or no, whiche he vtterly refuſed. The night following, the Enemie had a notable Alarme giuen hym, as if our aide would haue marched bypon hym, but all in vaine, becauſe the Enemie, with all diligence muſtered hym ſelf with all his forces, vpon Nothe Common.

The Enemy
chargeth
them in the
Wood.

The nineteene daie, aboute the daie breake, the Enemie armed hym ſelf with all his forces, to charge them in the Wood: but he was ſo luſtely repulſed, as that he was driuen to make his retraict.

The twentieth daie, aboute 200. perſones came to the Toun
houſe

house cryng out for bread: and eche man had for his share one peece, for hym and his Familie, because there was a mozell of bread moze left in the Toun. This daie, even at broad noone daie, came into the Toun, fower Citezens and thye souldiers, who in despite of the Enemie, came betweene the Warde, and the Trenches: and although the Enemie commyng out of his trenches, pursued them, yet was there not one of them once tainted, nor hurte, whiche so encouraged our aide, that thei purposed the next daie in the mornynge to reuietual the Toun.

Not one bite of bread left in the toun.

The 21. day of this Moneth, thei in the Wood, laded certaine Souldiers with Bread and Cheese, and sent them the very same waie that the rest aforesaid had gone: and although the Enemie skirmished to stoppe their passage, yet passed thei in despite of hym, with moze losse to hym self, then to our men: and brought to the Toun, about 250. Loaves, and 150. Cheeses. The night ensuyng, thei of the Wood, beganne to cast a newe Trench, some what nerer the Toun. And in the daie the Enemie, with all his forces, pressed nere to Steendicque Common, but it was not knowne for what cause. He very busily trauelled also, to bying his Artillarie behind Easterwike, but it was to no purpose. This daie in the euening, came a flying Post to the Toun with a letter: And the night followyng, the Enemie made a foote of Wagons, at the passage, where our men caried over the bread and Cheese.

The Toun reuietualled in the viewe of the enemy.

The 22. daie, the weather beganne to chaw, and the Tounes men beganne to cast by a newe Trench, within the new Bridge, without North newe gate. About noone, a skirmishe beganne to be coupled betweene the Roiters of the Wood, and the Roiters of the Enemie. In so muche, that nine of our men issued out of their Trenches, and came to North Common, chaling out of the one of them, the better parte of their Launces: whiche caused the Enemie crye Arme, Arme, throughout all his Campe: suddenly rushyng with all his forces, vpon the Common: how be it, thei in the Wood, would at no hande retire, although thei were but a fewe Roiters, and an handfull of small shot, but most courageously made hedde vpon the Enemie, drawyng towards the Toun waie, wherevpon, the Souldiers of the Toun in suche foote, issued out to helpe and ayde, those of the Wood, as that the

Th. H.

Enemy

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Enemie receiued hurte enough . And although the Enemie, by reason of the multitude of his Ropters , wonne a passage , yet what with those of the Towne behinde , and those of the Wood before, thei were gallantly handled with Harquebourse shot: and in the ende so handled, as that his Souldiers squared somewhat out of order , in so muche that it seemed , rather a battle, then a skirmishe: for, otherwise, could not the Roiters byng their souldiers to the fight: And therefore, many valiaunt Officers, Captaines of Horsemen, and others of name, were there, slaine: In so muche, that thei were driuen by reason of the raine, to retier in order of battle: This daie also, the Cannon on either side, played her parte lustely: and the fozte of Wagons, whiche the Enemie had made the night before, was broken in peeces, and caried to the Towne . About foure houtes, after the Enemie was got to rest, thei of the Wood had reactualled the Towne, with a pretie sprinklyng of some 75. Bushelles of Wheate, Peale, Cheese, and Pouder . Now, the Enemie would by no meanes trouble them, by reason that the Townesmen, had assailed the very nerest Trenches of that passage: in whiche were two Ensignes, of suche noble courage, as that thei wonne the Trenches, tooke the Artillarie, slew 17. Souldiers, and caried awaie the rest that were hurt, as prisoners: yea, and had drawne awaie Artillarie and all, had not the force of the Launces staied them : for thei were not halfe well prouided to goe awaie vpon the spurre: and againe, the night commyng suddenly vppon them, euery man retired hym self to his strength . But, because the Enemie had fought but ill that daie, the next night he forsooke his seuen Trenches , vppon Ropthe Common, and Steendicque, and drew awaie his Artillarie.

The Towne
againe re-
actualled.

The 23. of February, whiche was the daie of the deliuerance of the Towne, aboute the breake of the daie, three Englishe men came out of the Wood, and passed betweene the Trenches : but when thei perceiued , that there was neither watche nor warde within them, thei came to the Towne, and tolde them of it : then issued out of the Towne many men, and lookyng into the Trenches, founde neuer a man , but the seuentene dead men whiche laie there, and three dead Roiters before the Trenches. Within a while after, the Enemie set fire on his Campe, and hauing before daie,

The Siege
raised from
before Ste-
enwike.

dale, sent his Artillarie with his footemen befoze: his hozsemen stooode in order of battle vntill the afternoone, in the plaine fallow fieldes of Dnnen, vntill suche tyme as the Englishe Colonell, generall of the Campe, came with his Colonelles, Captaines, and Officers, and a fewe hozsemen, to passe by Steenwike, in the tayle of the Enemie, who as yet brauely mustered and shewed hym self. And then was the Toune thoroughly victualled with all thinges necessarie, and deliuered from the straight siege, whiche it endured fower whole Monethes together, and therefoze we can not sufficiently enough praise our good GOD, who hath so louingly and mercifully dealt with vs, moste miserable wretches.


The siege of Steenwike lasted fower whole monethes.

The 24. of February, the Armie of the Estates, departed from the Wood, and marched towardes Oldemerct, to expulſe the Garnisons, whiche the Enemie had thrust in into Ruynder, Lemmer, Sloten, and many other places moe, whiche afterward was perſormed. In so muche that all these places were againe restozed into the handes of the Estates, and vnited Provinces. Vnto whom, I beseech the Lord of his mercie and grace, graunt wisdom, prouidence, and strength, dailey moze and moze to continue their blessed enterprises, to the ende thei maie with force resist their enemies, prouidently, gupde all their affaires, and maintaine this debonaire people with all wisdom and equitie. And thus (gentle Reader) I conclude and ende this present Historie: reseruyng the reste of the affaires whiche shall succede, for the beginning of an other Booke, and if it shall please the Lord our God to graunt me that his fauour, I will surely make the partaker thereof.

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FINIS.



CA
TRAGICALL

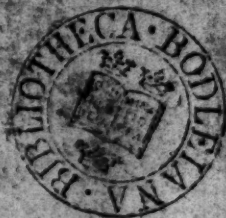
Historie of the troubles and

Civile warres of the lowe

Countries, other

wise called

Flanders.



Wherein, is sett forth the originall and full proceeding of
the saied troubles and Civile warres, with all the stratagemes,
sieges, forcible takynges, and manlike defenses, of divers
and sundrie Cities, Townes, and Fortresses of the
same, together, the Barbarous crueltie and ty-
rannie of the Spaniard, and trecherous
Hispaniolized Gallions, & others
of the saied lowe Countreys.

And there withall, the Estate and cause of Religion, especi-
ally, from the yere 1559. unto the yere 1581.

Besides many Letters, Commissions, Contractes of
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Thomas Hocker



Imprinted at London by Thon Kyngston
for Tobie Smith, dwelling in Paules Church-
yarde, at the signe of the Crane.

Thom. Tanner

1583.

A notable historie of the ciuile

the 4. and 7. of this month, letting them thereby vnderstand their great care ouer them, and the deuice and counsell they gaue the, together, the promises of their priuiledges and franchises in time to come. And vnderneath was subscribed, your good confederates, The knightes Nobles, and Townes of Holland, representing the Estates of the said Countrie, together the counsell of those, which were then present with his Excellencye, and subscribed by

Ottes of Egmond, Adryan Myle, William Iohnson of Henskerke, Cornelius Bouchorlt, William Loo, Cornelius Gautier: And a little beneath subsigned by y^e Secretary C. de Rechtere.

The Leydens answered these Letters the 16. of the same month. Thanking and praying God with ioyfull heartes, and al the Estates, for that foresaid gauging. Shewing them besides, their great necessitie and misery, requiring, that the enterpryse begunne for their deliuerance, might be hastened.

The same day there were letters likewise dispatched, and written in letters to the Admirall Boisot, declaring vnto him their extreame distresse, and praying him to haste with all the possible speede that might be, desiring with all, to vnderstande, in what sorte they should deale, wherein they trusted, should neither be seene, nor found in them, any negligence, or want of good will. But now, to leaue our wandring discourse, we will again return to our other matters: There were some, who thought the felues very well seene about these field bankes, had perswaded his Excellencie, that his people which were passed the sayde Iymittes, might without anyance, come downe into the aforesaid Soetermeir Peere: notwithstanding y^e experience, shewed the clean contrary. For, first there was a greene way, which lay a foote hyer then the water: and the same likewise was to be gotten, and trenched, befoze the Enemy vnderstood it, which was perfourmed without the losse of any man, and yet the enemy lay within a musket shot therof: Secondly, they thought they might haue passed fra thence into Soetermeir, by res^t of sundry ditchs, wherout curues had bin digged, howbeit but one of the went so farre, and the same also giuen to goe vnder Soetermeir bridge, which

which standeth full in way, where the Spaniards on either side lay, to wit, euen at the houses harde vpon the bridge, and the bridge also was fortified with thyrte ensignes of souldiers, who lay in all the houses alongest the way. Insomuch that none could passe by them, but that they would haue displaced the with their great ordnance.

His excellencie lying at Delft, and hearing hereof, sent forth with by the master of the ordnance, foure demie Canons, placed and planted in fit vessels for the purpose, and withall the broken pise of Delft. These vessels being of a mightie thicknes, were trimmed befoze with very great planks, & betweene the planks were massie nettes rammed in for the sauing of the Canonier. These vessels being arriued at the campe the scuenteenth day, the Admirall sent presently all his Gallies towardes the saide bridge by sundrie Chanels. And himselfe sayled downe the channell, which directly ranne vnto the bridge, and came so neere, as that hee was within danger of the Harquebuz shot. And on his left side in another Channell, were two of the demie Canons aforesaid: and on the right hand was the Admirall of Ziericksea with two other demie Canons: and some of the Gallies were come through another Chanell, and had gotten so very neere the enemye, as that they shue foure or five of the Harriners, and gaue diuers of therest. These lay battering at the bridge from morning tyll noone.

But as one of the aforesayd vessels began to splite, by reason of the force of a bullet that was shot, & that the other might likewise haue bene so serued, and withall seeing the enemye, notwithstanding the great losse of his people not once remooue, the Admirall caused to sounde the retraite. Nowe, this retraite could not bee without the losse of the princes people, especially of those, whiche were with the Admirall of Ziericksea.

There were amongst this company certaine French gentlemen Captaines, as Catteuille, Durant, and Guileresse, who were too too forwarde with theyr souldiers against the enemye, for they had gotten with their barkes, behinde the turf heapes, not farre from the enemies houses & trenches, thinking to haue set them on fire. But the Admirall retraying without any noyse,

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and not knowing them to bee so farre forth, the enimie percei-
uing them to bee there, so lustily assailed them with such a great
number of boates, as that Cattenille, Gaileresse, and seuen sould-
diers moe, by reason of the reculing of their barke, were drown-
ed.

But Durant and certaine souldiers with him, saued themselves
by swimming, neuertheless the enimie as it was after well
knowne, receiued a farre greater losse, through the shooting off,
of the great ordnance. For, their boates were full fraught with
their dead, hurt, and gald men, and carried to Utricht: Inso-
much that some scoffing fellows, iested and saide, That fry-
ers Gray was very deare ware, because that whosoever would
goe to the Popes heauē must needs bee buried in a Fryers Spi-
riours coule, and the time was that they would put them coffyn &
all into the coule, when as they carryed them very vsauey
from the campe, as commonly it fell out both at Amsterdam and
also at Utricht, where they are buried in the body of y^e Church.

And although the princes armie, had with the great ordnāce
merueilously annoied the enimie, as had also the valiant souldi-
ers of the Colonels of the Baron of Popelle, and of the Cap-
taine of the garde, yet it shoulde seeme, that they wonne no
great matter by it. For the water rose not so high, as they looked
for, and that was by reason of the infinite thousandes of hallocks
which sucked vp the water, the winde also serued them to no pur-
pose: and besides, the enimie vsed many and sundrie meanes to
daine the water aside.

Howeuer, the said bridge was marueilous strongly fortifi-
ed, and againe, the boates which had the demie canons in them,
would be otherwise haue beene trimmed: so that it seemed, all
that cost and trauell to be vterly lost, and themselves at their
wits end. Howbeit, the Lorde God purueyed for them two ma-
ner of wayes: to wit, first by reason of the North-east wynde
which blew by a mightie gale, the 18. 19. & 20. dayes of Sep-
tember: & secondly through the good counsell y^e was giuen to M.
Peter Wastell, one of his Excellencies counsell, who in this
dealing was very diligent and carefull: for as he was deuising
with two countrie men, they told him, that they needed not passe
by that bridge, seeing they might passe the way called Segwart,
lying

friers Gray

*God ordaind
Pr. interpose*

lying betweene Soetermeir and Benthouse. When the counsellour heard thus much, he tolde it to his Excellencie, and returning to þe campe, sate hereupon in counsell, with the Admirall Noielles, the Captaine of the garde, and with certaine estates of the Admiralcie, and they all concluded, as abovesaid.

And heereupon, Admirall Boplot, accompanied with Mastell aforesaide, with the guard, eight gallies, and senentie souldiers, directed his course that night towards Segwart way, and there arriued befoze such time as the enemye had any vnderstanding of them: for, the vice Admirall lay with the armie befoze the said Soetermeir bridge.

Nowe, when they had gotten this way, the Captaine of the guard, desired Citabelle an Italian Gentleman, and þe Baron of Noielles Lieuutenant, to fortifie and entrench with Watwirauc, and halfe the souldiers on Benthouse side: And master Bochart with Captaine Labriere, and the other halfe of the souldiers, on Soetermeir side. And the meaning hereof was this, þe although the whole force of the enemye should sodenly breake vpon them, yet thought they hereby safely to returne to their ships, howbeit all in vaine; for the enemye seeing himselfe deceiued, had no great stomacke to ferrie them out: and þe Almaines who lay at Benthouse, so soone as night came, shewed a faire payre of heeles, & they which lay at Soetermeir, in the morning forsooke their trench, & retired towards Leyden, to wit, towards Northaske, Soeterwouwe, Iykwegge, & Cleypont, carrying with them their artillarie, and fortified themselves in manie houses. Now, the treaches in Segwart way, were not finished withoute the great trauell of the princes people, who labored all that night vpon þe knees in the water, þe wind mightilye blowing at þe North-East. The next morrow Admirall Boplot, sent the Captaine of the garde to looke for the armie, which through Gods mightie hand, arriued there, without the losse of any one man.

The Almaines aforesaid, were no sooner gone from Benthouse but þe captaine Labriere had gotten their trench. When the Princes people were passed Segwart way, hauing set on fire the houses which stood on Soetermeir way, Captaine Cret an Orngian arriued at Soetermeir with three companies of The arke of souldiers, and the arke of Delft. This Arke, was a strange Delft.
buple

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buyle and trimmed vessell, well furnished with great ordnance, but very noysome to the armie, by reason of the lownes of the water, insomuch that they thought once to haue burnt her, but because shee had in her betwixt fifteene & twentie peeces of greate ordnance, they founde the meanes to bring her to the foresaide place, that ryding there, shee might keepe the passage. This Arke, was buile of two shippes toynd together, and was rowed neither with sprites, nor oars, neither yet driuen with the helpe of any sailes, but by wheelles, wrought within her, & so very strongly built all ouer, as that no musket shot was able to pearce her. Shee was of burden able to beare fiftie lustie men for defence, and twelue to turne the wheelles.

The next morrow they were determining, whether they should goe on, or carrie a while longer. The Admirall Boplot thought it best to pursue the enemy, reculed: and to the ende that both the Leydens, and also the enemy might describe him a farre off, hee was resolved, to take this enterpryse in hande, with twentie Gallies, and appoynted the rest of the armie to follow him. As hee haue heeretofore spoken how the vessels which beare the demie Canons, were riuen with the force of the Canon. But because they had neede of them, they were speedily new calked, pitched, and calloved at Delft, and beeing trimmed with leade and sale hydres against the force of the powder, they followed the armie the thyrde day after. The Admirall hauing sailed not passing a myle from benchouse, was tolde as it was ghesse, that aboute the waters which ranne downe towardeys Noxta, that the enemy might strengthen himselfe in certayne houses thereabout, howbeit, when they had inquired after it, the thing was found to bee farre other wise: wherfore he made towards Noxta, and got him euen within a musket shot thereof, where hee might perceiue how that betweene two or thre hundred well armed Almaines, had left two houses, and were fled with all possible speede, to the other side of Noxta little Heere, where the Spaniards were intrenched. Whereupon the Admirall lustily pursued them with force of Dares, and orderly enbattailed himselfe within an harquebaze shot of the enemy. From this trenche in Noxta houses, were the muskets brauely discharged, but the Drenghians so defended themselves with their great ordnance, as that the

*Around Ship
122, 123, 124, 125
126, 127, 128, 129*

the Spaniard knewe not where to hide his head.

When the aforesaid Almaines had closely conueyed themselves behinde two hay stacks, to keepe them out of the danger of the great shot, they rettyred towards Soeter wood; which skirmishe lasted from noone, vntill the Euening: But about mydnight, the Admyrall caused an Alarme to be giuen by certayne small shot, whom the Spaniardes aunswereed foure or fye tymes, to the end, to shew them, that they were not departed, but they fearing of surpising, so stilly and slyly rettyred towards Soeter wood, as that the Admirall neuer perceyued it, vntill the next morning.

The Drenghians were greatly annoyed, by reason that the Spaniardes had stopped the course of the water, whiche ranne downe towarde Soeter wood: & besides, they were in a greater fault, in that they made not a trenche at the entrie of the little Meere: for if they had, the Admyrall had found as dangerous a peece of work of it, as was the enterpryse at Soetermeir bridge: howbeit, the Lord God meaning to increase his glory, so blinded them, as that they became senselesse. When all the rest of the army were come with the great ordinance, the Admiral & al his whole army were gottē into a very large & broad streame, running towarde Suyten, where they discharged all their great ordinance, because the Leydens should both see, heare, and bee encouraged, for in seuen daies before, they had not heard so much as a worde from them. The Leydens againe aunswereed them with their great ordinance, in token, that they were not as yet discouraged, although their food was no better then Cow besse, and hoxle flesh. They had in the towne about nientie hoxses, and from the foureteenth of September, they beganne to distribute halfe a pound of the sayde hoxle flesh to a man for one dayes victuall.

The Colleagues and adherents of proud Baldez, came dayly before the gates of the Towne, menacing, mocking, and testing, and mixing withall sometimes very sweete and sugred wordes. And on a tyme certayne of his Captaynes and Officers, meeting with a young youth, going frō the Towne to Leyerthorp: sayde vnto him: Tell your Townes men, that it is as possible

*ffo Spaniards
com mthill on 22022*

*The liuelines of
a lusty captaine,
reuiued men
halfe dead.*

*ffo friends of ff
Spaniards*

A notable hystorie of the ciuill

to catch the starres in the skie with your handes. These were the
 slaunderous, high, and proude wooordes of this Infidell Maran,
 and of his adherentes, who thought themselues to haue as well
 prouided for the Campe, and siege about the Towne, as that nei-
 ther y^e Townes men, nor yet any man liuing, was able to with-
 stand him, or hinder his deuise: neuer thinking that there was a
 God, who could and woulde deliuer the poore afflicted soules
 from the handes and sword of the Tyrant. Howbeit these threac-
 ning wordes, & faire promyses withall, were not altogether
 fruitlesse, because they wrought effectually in some inconstant &
 vnseled mynds: by which they being moued by reason of y^e great
 famyne, which so grieuouly touched the, as y^e there was like to
 haue bin a manifest discord in the Towne, had not y^e Lord God by
 M. James & Iohn de la Does, Lords of Northwyke, wisely and
 grauely prouided against it. For about the very self same tyme,
 that these things thus fel out, 15. Citizens (who as they said, had
 aboute 300. moe of theyr confederacy) went to the Towne house,
 calling for victuals, and that if none were there to be had, that
 meanes might be found for y^e prouiding of some: where one of y^e
 Borroughmaisters protested, that he would not be the cause of
 y^e death of those which died of hunger: who (as they said) had at y^e
 instat, 7. Bacon hogges left in his house, insomuch y^e these words
 had wrought a farre greater effect, had not the Deputies & the
 rest of the Magistrates, with the Captaynes & the other citizes
 in authority, been more constant, & faithfull, & had besides, trusted
 more assuredly to y^e merciful prouidence of God. For where some
 of the rest of the Magistrates, earnestly trauelled to perswade
 the people of the great mercy of Baldez, and of the notable par-
 don, and withall, of the promises conteyned within the letters a-
 boue written. these men on the other side set before the eyes of y^e
 simple and faynthearted Citizens, all examples to the contra-
 ry. For the sayde pardon was by some, so lustely mainteyned, as
 that they shamed not to giue their good fellow citizens reproch-
 ful words only, but of a froward affectio belied the also; saying, y^e
 they which trusted not to the pardon, were errād theeuces, which
 saying, put them in great feare: not sticking besides, freely to cry
 out & say, y^e they had redeemed the tōgs of their Lombard: & this
 speech, as befoze hath byn sayde, arose by reason that the commil-
 sary

A discord in
 Leyden by rea-
 son of y^e famine.

saye Bronchoist was dead, who so long as he liued helde them at the staues end, and trusted some of them vp in an halter.

Quer & besides these iniurions & reprochfull words, the secret counsels which they there oftentimes held, came to litle effect, for y^e Lord God had stirred vp the hart of a godly woman, who from time to time aduertised the faithfull ones of all their whole deuises, so that they continually put themselves in armes, before their secret enemies could bring any part of their enterprise to passe, and it was so wisely and discretely handled, as that they thought it to bee done vpon some other occasion: which caused the dissemblers and counterfets, not once dare to take in hande that theyr deuise, by reason they were inwardly stricken with shame and feare.

*A woman in good
habits in Leyden*

There were certaine also, which came the very same time to Peter Adryan son the Burrough master, shewing him both by lamentable & threathning words, of their pouertie & hunger, thinking that they should thereby moue him to seeke some meanes to agree with the enemy. Howbeit, he in these few wordes answered them, and said: My good friends, & beloued fellow citizens, I haue made an oth, which by the grace of god, I meane constantly to keep: If my death, such I am sure I must once die, may any way pleasure you, it is all one to me, whether you or y^e enemy kill mee: for, for mine owne part, I intend (god willing) to go on a plaine & direct course: & therfore, if this carkasse of mine will do you any good, in gods name take it, cut it in peeces, & deuide it as farre as may possibly stretch, for I shalbe contented therewith. The citizens were at this answer so amazed, as y^e they went away without any moe words. Now, for the better maintaining & nourishing of this dissention, & the encouraging of y^e faithles, & discouraging of the godly & valiant, & withall, for declaracion y^e the wordes aforesaid, of the impossibilitie of their deliuerance were true, the aforesaid de Wilbesma & certaine other fugitiues of the towne, had euen for the vp shot, written the 22. of September to the Leydens, the summe whereof ensueth.

*Letter of the
of the Burrough master
to the*

That theyr great affection & loue, enforced them once moze to write vnto the Leydens, willing the to take heede, that they brought not their towne to extreme misery & calamitie, when as all hope of grace shall fayle the. And therfore wished the not

*A letter of the
hispaniolized fu
gitives to the
Leydens.*

A notable hystorie of the ciuill

to trust ouer much to theyr owne wisdom, by their ouermuch crediting of y^e, and which they looked for frō the prince of Drāge. And to the end they might see, howe greatly they desired theyr deliuerance from all wretchednesse and miserie, they verily beleueued, that they should bee able to sende them passeport for three or 4 persons, which might come & visite his maiesties campe, to see if they might possibly deliuer them either by water or lande, and in the meane while offered to sende some of theyr companie for ostages to the towne. Or if it pleased them to send certain to talk of the matter, they would also finde y^e meanes, that it shold be; and woulde as much as was possible, helpe them both with theyr act and counsell.

Wherefore, they aduised them not to neglect this aduertisement, and send an answer by the bearer hereof. Beseeching in the ende, God to preserue them : and so inspire them as that it might all turne to a good end. Subscribed thus:

By your good friendes to the uttermost of our powers.

I. V. Matenesse of Wibisma, Cornelius de la Hoogh, y^e sonne of Nicholas, Nicholas Oom Iohnson, Butenwegh, Bartholemew Alewiis, Gerbrant Meessens, Rene, the son of James,

A most noble & couragious answer of certaine citizens to those of the campe.

Unto the reprochfull wordes aforesaide, and to these letters, and slaunders, which the enemye dayly spake, certaine Citizens in the ende, standing upon the Rampares, answered the Machabite, saying: You altogether build all your reasons vppon our famine, and that it is impossible for vs to bee ayded and deliuered. You call vs dogge and cat eaters. Wee tell you, that wee want no victuals, you heare that in our Towne, are both dogges kine, and horses. And if wee should in the end want these, yett hath euery one of vs a left arme to eate, and reserue the righte arme to beat the tyrant and the rest of you which are his bloody ministers from our walles: but if at the last, our force shall not bee strong enough, and that the Lord God meaneth by your hāds to punish vs for our demerites, which wee, through the confidence that wee haue in his diuine goodnes, hope hee will not do, yett will wee neuer forsake his holy worde, nor yett giue ouer the

de,

defense of the libertie of our countrie, choosing rather when wee are at the verie worst, to set our Towne on fier, then that it shold any way be gainefull vnto you, and we become your slaues. For it is moze tollerable for vs, to bee slaine in fight with the Pachabecs then to see the miserie of our people, and indure your tyrannie both in our bodies and consciences: an answer vndoubtedly, wortie eternall memorie: whereunto, and such other like were the good Citizens encouraged by their wiues. For, there were a great number of them, which rather would haue dyed of hunger in their houses, then to haue yeelded into the Tyrantes handes, because that the tyrannies of Harden, Surphen, Halynes, & Harlem were yet fresh in their heads.

We are now to retorne to speake of the princes armie whiche we left at Noxta, where it was faine to stay a few dayes for want of water: because the enemy lay in the chanel towards Soeterwood, and also at Soeterwood, and thereby stopped the said chanel. This lying still of the armie, pleased no whic such pble persons, as commonly will doe all things with their tongue, although they haue no experience in the whole world in warre-like affayres: most reprochfully crying out and asking, why the Admirals went not on, whiche in very deepe they might haue done, if the ships had had winges, seeing that the water in these furmost fieldes was not aboue niene ynches deepe, & the gallies drew a foote and an halfe, or two feete.

Admirals went not on, whiche in very deepe they might haue done, if the ships had had winges, seeing that the water in these furmost fieldes was not aboue niene ynches deepe, & the gallies drew a foote and an halfe, or two feete.

Wherefore the captaines required his Excellencie, beeing now whole to come to the armie, whither about that very time indeede he came. His comming greatly reioyced the armie, but no whic the enemy, who perceiued it by the triumph of the Canon. The order of the armie maruellously pleased his Excellencie, and gaue forthwith order to seeke for the way which was to be gauged, to wit, the Rykweg, which thing was done by a gentleman Dengian named Bultran, and the vice Admirall Cornelius Hycollsons, accompanied with Iust the Moore, who made report thereof to his Excellencie, the Admirals and Colonels. Afterwarde, the way how to gauge it was appointed. But because it pleased not the Lorde that the water shoulde waxe higher, nor none other winde blow, then at that time did, whiche made the water lower, they were resolved to thrust in by stealth

His excellencie commeth to see the fleet.

The determination of the Lord was confedered for the reuictualing of the town.

A notable historie of the ciuill

into the Towne, thirtie or fortie Barkes laden with bread. For the doing wherof captaine Grenu offered his seruice. And afterward, when his Excellencie had commanded the Admirals, Colonels and captains to make al the possible speed that might be, he returned to Delft.

Although the Citizens of Leyden had conceived sonie good hope for their deliuerance, as well by the letters frō the Estates the twelfth of that moneth, as also by the hearing and seeing of the effect of the great ordnance: yet because they had not long before that, neither receiued or yet sent any letters, by reason of the great warre that was about the Towne, they sent two messengers, who arriued the 26. of September about the Admirall: to declare vnto him the extreeme necessitie of the Citizens, which was in deed very great, but yet not so great as they said: and also to see the estate of the armie, wherof they themselves, if it were possible, should come back to make repoirt to their fellowe Citizens, if not, then they should send letters by the posts of the ayre: for to that end, had the messengers aforesaide, carried with them sixe old doues.

*Necessitie, the
inuentrix of a
cunning policie.*

*A flying messenger
arriued at
Leyden.*

Nowe, as the messengers thought to returne towardes the Towne with the Admirals letters, they founde all the passages belaid, and therefore were driuen of necessitie to returne: howbeit the Admirall Bopfort, had sent his letters the 27. of September by a flying poste, hauing written to the townes men, that by the grace of God, he would procure their ayde and deliuerance, praying them to remaine constant, & not lightly and vnadvisedly receiue in any victuals, without they saw himselfe, or some assurance from him, for he feared that the Spaniards vnder his name might by some stratageme abuse and deceiue them. The first flying messenger, arriued at Leyden the 28. of that moneth, which the magistrate by sound of the bel, gaue the people to vnderstand, & the 29. day he read, & letters opely. Declaring vnto them how that his Excellencie himself had been with the armie, to giue order for their deliuerance, and that he had him commended vnto them all, beseeching them, yet for a while to continue constant, for the Lord of Hostes would send meanes to deliuer them. These letters greatly gladdened and encouraged the people: praying God, and incessantly, as the other confedered Townes had done,

done, made their prayers vnto the Lord.

Now, this great ioy, was not without some mixture of sorrow, because that before, and the same very day, the winde blew by at the North-east, which caused the water to fall rather then ryle: so þ the princes armie thought, that they had as it were lost all hope of deliuering them, if the inuisible meanes of God, to wit, the great flowing of the water, which began that 29. day, & lasted vntill the second of October, had not holpen them. Wherefore the Admirall Boylot, wrote vnto his Excellencie, that if God of his mercy did not help both wth wind & also wth þ rising of the water, and by suche meanes as no mā was able as yet to perceiue, that he sawe not which way possible to bring to passe the reuictualling of the towne for this time, and feared that after it would be too late: considering that there was not a beast left, and that there were but two distributions moe to be had, and these, but to last for eight dayes. Insomuch that the misery (besides the pestilence, diseases, and discord) was in the towne verie great as he vnderstood by the messengers: and as was also after found to be most true.

For many of them had not in seuen weekes space, eaten one b^{yt} of bread, & drunke nothing els but water. Horse flesh also was then as good meat wth the wealthiest of them, as mutton is at this present. Cats and dogs amongst the aduenturers, and others which lay at the gates of the Towne, were thought to be delicate meate, and so eaten. It is impossible to describe vnto you all their maner of cookery, although many tolde mee of it. Some of them ate vine leaues mingled wth Amell floure and salt. There was great difference in the leaues of trees, & therefore they made sundrie kindes of meates of lecke blades, rootes and roote stalkes, and the roote leaues which fell to the ground, was a very ordinary kinde of good meate. Rootes and skinnes cut in small gobbins, and sodden in butter mylke, was an ordinary and common meate for manie. Gentlewomen were driuen to eat their little puppelles, in whom before they tooke great pleasure. To the place where the flesh was wonted to be cut out and diuided, the pooze children came, and ate blood rawe, the peeces of the flesh which fell away in þ diuision. All the old rottē shoes in þ towne, which lay in þ dirt, were takē vp, & eatē for þis.

*Small goods of 20 l^{rs}
wth 11 l^{rs} 10 s^{rs} 6 d^{rs}
God send wth wth for
from*

*Strange kinde
of meates whi-
che the Leyden
did eat.*

note

A notable historie of the ciuile

The Poore women were seene sitting upon the dounghills, with their clokes cast ouer their heads, gathering vp of the best bones they coulde finde, and carryed them home to their houses. And they no sooner founde the least stalk of a roote, but that they immediately eate it vp. The young boyes oftentimes sucked the bones, which the dogs had gnawne. Euery woman that lay in childbed, was faine to be pleased wth a quarter of a pound of biscet a day. Some women againe were so hunger bitten, as that the childe in theyr wombe was almost pined to death. The blood of y^e cattell was gathered vp out of the filthie & stinking gutters of the towne, and eaten. Neuerthelesse their drinke was somewhat more to be hope wthall: for beside the water, they had Beere made of Dates, which cost an Holland pennie the pot. Yea some made drinke of the very huskes of the graines, mingling therwth herbe Grace & Rue in steed of Hemlock. Other some dranke vineger & water mingled together, so y^e whē the towne was freed & at liberty, there was scarcely any vineger to be had. A pound of butter was worth xv. souls. A yellow carot one souls, a root stalk halfe a souls, a Beere or Apple a grote. There was offered for a sacke of wheate an hundred florins.

The prices of
certaine victu-
als in Leyden.

Ouer and besides this great misery, the plague was so rype all the Towne ouer, as that there dyed of it almost sixe thousand persons. The young children which were staruen to death, said, as it is written in the lamentations of Ieremie: Where is the bread, where is the wine, and so fell down stark dead in y^e streets or betweene their mothers armes: and therefore after that, many young children were faine to eate horse flesh. The men which could scarcely go ouer the bridge, were enforced to ward as good as naked, and in their returne, founde neither wife nor children aliue. They y^e were wont to goe wth their dizaines to the warde, came backe againe with eight, sixe, and sometimes thre. Noble women and their children which were wont to be clad in silkes and fed vppon the most delicate meates, dyed of very hunger.

The insupportable calamitie
and miserie of
the Leydens.

There was a dead man brought, and layde before the gate of the Burroughmasters, thereby to shew hym (as it was thought) both closely and expresse, that hee had beene the cause thereof, & therefore y^e it appertained to him to seeke y^e mean to preuent it.

To bee short, the extreeme miserie in the Towne was such, as is impossible for mee to describe and set downe. But they who, after the deliuerance thereof, had scene their leane faces, and small and feeble legges, might easily haue witnessed the same.

And now to returne againe vnto the Princes armie, it had not needed to haue carryed long at Roxta, if it had beene certainelie knowne, that the Leydens coulde haue held out longer time.

Againe, the Prince and chiefe rulers of the armie, knewe right well, that the neerer Winter drew on, the greater abundaunce of water woulde ensue. And the generall of the armie knewe well enough also, that hee must passe betweene Soeterwood, & Suyten house, and so did the enemy likewise, and therefore had especially placed his whole warde there. In the meane while many thought it best, to attempt by night Soetermeir Meere way, towarde Stompwyke way, but it was to no purpose, because that all the ditches and chanelis lay in and out crookedlie: & besides, the Spaniard also, wardeed there. The Papists aforesaid, had lying vpon the Rhyne, fise great gallies, and well appointed boates, howbeit they wanted maryners.

As these thinges in this wise most lamentable floode, the most mightie God and Lord of Hostes, who on extreeme necessity neuer forsaketh his, hauing compassion on his miserable afflicted ones, woulde needes shewe forth his strong and outstretched arme, for the deliuerie of his desolate people out of the hands of a Tyrant.

Wherefore, he sent the windes his Ministers, who so violently blew vp, as that the waters arose and wonderfully overflowed. For besides, the great overflowing of the waters, the Northeast winde wonderfull violently blew vp, and brought againe the fallen water vpon the face of the earth: who so prospered the Southeast winde, as that it drew & same water towards Leyden: Insomuch, that the Princes armie, which before, as abovesaid, had but niene ynches of water, had then aboue two feet and an halfe, and was able to passe euen at the first, ouer the high fieldes, vnto Rykweigh, aforesaid, & if at any time they saw the water faile the, then would ten or twelue men goe out of euery ship, and so lighten her, & she might stoe, & afterward passed o-

The waters by reason of the windes arise by mercurys.

A notable historie of the ciuill

2. Octobers

The order of the
princes armie
at Sea.

uer Kirkweigh: wherefoze, they tooke their course towardes þ
quarter in the night, betwixt the first & second of October, after
they had giuen a false alarme vnto Stompwyke way.

The order of this armie of the princes by Sea, passing ouer
the said high Territorie, was ranged & placed in maner as follo-
weth. The Admiralles of Flushing & Ziericksea, had followyng
each of them fifteene gallies, which spied themselves abroad like
two winges. And first, Admirall Boysoe accompanied with the
Colonell of the guard, had the leading of the left wing, on Soe-
terwood side, because it was thought that the greatest force of the
emie lay there: The Admiral of Ziericksea had in his company
master Citadell, Bultran, captaine Paule Dupyant and others.
The vice Admirall was placed on the right side of Suyten, ac-
companyed with the Baron of Noieles, master Cornes & Bour-
chart, and with Captaines, Henric & Grenu. Philip de Asseliers,
master of the ordnance, and warlike munitions, was appointed
to carry with the great ordnance, & eight or ten gallies vppon
Noyta, for þ keeping of þ victuals, vntill such tyme as the said ad-
mirals had gotten Kykweigh aforesaid, & that then hee shoulde
follow, and brauely salute the Soeterwoodens with the greate
ordnance, which ordnance was charged with pretie little bags
stuffed full of leaden bullets, to wit, 300. in euery bagge finely
and artificially couched, and those to be disparshed amongst the
thickest of the emie.

When all things were thus orderly arranged & placed, the ar-
mie departed about midnight, the day aforesaid, and the Gallies
and ships were leuered an harquebuz shot one behind another,
hauling in the middest about eightene or twentie Barkes laden
with Pyoners, and all kindes of tooles for entrenching, to the
ende they myght so soone as it was possible, fortifie themse lues
at the said Church way. But the Spaniardes had appointed so
great a watch in their small vessels, as that it might haue serued
for the whole bodie of a ward. And when they saw the Admi-
rall somewhat neere, they called aloud, and said: Who is there,
who is there, but not a worde was giuen them, vntill suche tyme
as the Admirall was gotten within Gun shot: and then he so sa-
luted them with þ roaring and thundring of the Canon, as that
the

grosse shot
of ordnance
bagged of powder
bullet

the night seemed to bee day.

This watch answered them againe with caliuers, muskets, and certaine faulconet shot, and then left their vessels, & by little and little rectyed, still playing with their small shot, vntill they had gotten to the body of their ward, which was entrenched at e- uery corner of the way. When salied they brauely out on euerie side, fiercely deliuering their muskets against the Drenghias: but the Zealanders so resaluted them with such on haile of Bullets, as that they were driuen with great losse to rectye to their tren- ches, leauing there behinde them, onely a few souldiers to main- taine the skirnish: who soone after also made their retrait: for the French Captaines, the captaine of the guard, Bultran, and Bourchare went on land, and entrenched themselues on Doer- terwood side, and Grenu, Ladriere, and others on the righe side. In the mean while y they were quietly entrenching of theselues befoze the day breake, the Zealanders plated frō their ships with their canons vpon the Doeterwoodens, but chiefly where they saw any fire or light, and shot fier also, into some of their houses. The Daryners & french souldiers which were on land, cast fier likewise into diuers of their houses. The captaines aforesaid re- turning on both sides from the skirmishe stucke thicke into the grounde all alongst the way stakes with long piron pykes at the ende of them, to the end y the enemye being once driuen from that way might neuer retorne thither againe.

The Drenghians
skirnish braue-
ly against the
Spaniards.

a good deper

Now when the Drenghians had taken this Churche way, en- trenchd themselues, & placed a ward there: they gatwed it in thzee places, to make a way for the passing of their gallies: In the mean while, the ships laden with victuals being about an hū- dred, were sent away, and arriued all neere the armie, two excep- ted, which going out of the right way, fell on the dry land, and so consequently into the handes of the enemye. And surely, here is one thing greatly to be considered of, that in the seates and deedes of armes of so great importance, doone in the sight and middelt of the whole force of the enemye, there were not aboue fūe or sixe men of the Princes side slaine: But to say truly, this was Gods worke and not mans, for the good G D D when ic pleaseh hym, keepeth and defendeth his, euen in the greatest and most perillous dangers, to the ende hee would shewe vnto

the Pr. Drenghians
fell into the dry
middle ground

nota

A notable historie of the ciuill

Tyrants and proude men, that hee is able to abase and throwe downe the power and strength, whereof they so highly bragge, that thereby he might make his glorie, magnificence, and prayse, appeare the greater.

When all the whole armie by Sea, and victuallers, had passed that way: The Admirall of Flushing directed his course towards the meere bridge: Neuerthelesse, after he had sayled a little way, where he thought to haue found it deepest, it proued very shallow.

*God baldez of
Zealanders*

And then, the Zealanders shewed themselves to bee men of great stomacke, for they, for the vnburdening of theyr ships leapt presently into the water, and like men that had rather haue carried theyr vessels away vpon theyr shoulders, then to haue leaft them, by that meanes got to Weerborough.

When the Spaniards and the rest which lay encamped about Soeterwood Church in diuers Trenches, had seene the next day in the morning which was the second of October, that the Prince his armie had not as yet directed her course towards Leyden, thought that because they saw all on a light fier behinde them, that they meant to enclose them in Soeterwood. And that which most of all amazed them, was, that they sawe the water in so short time risen so high: And therefore Baldez, the general of their campe, considering, what aduantage the Drengeans, now he had, began to quake, and with such speed left Soeterwood, as that hee had not the leasure to carry away his great ordnance with him. Howbeit, hee was no sooner fled, but that Alfonso Loupes Gallio, folowed him with his seuen Ensignes, and tooke the way from Foxscote, through a place, whiche hee had for that purpose caused to be heightened with boughes and fagots.

*Baldez and his
companie take
a faire paire of
heeles.*

When the Admirall and his retinue, were in Weerborough he vnderstood nothing of this flight, vntill it was too late: and that the greater number of them were gotten away. Howbeit certaine Gallies cutting the way off from them, so hauely played with the great ordnance amongst the lustie heele listers, as that a good manie of them were dyuen to returne: who heeing thus scattered one from another, the Zealanders there

therupon, getting out of the water, fell vpon the tayle of those which fledde towardes Foxscote, and with their long rusty pikes, slew euery mothers sonne of them, and so lustely pursued them, as that many of the Enemies running directly before the, not knowing they way, drowned themselves in the ditches and channelles.

The rest, which could not gette to Foxscote, for feare of the great Ordnance of the Gallies, which had cut the waye off from them, fled towardes Stompwyke way, and casting their weapons far inough from them, tooke their heeles towards Leyerdam and Foxbrough. In this flight, and with the battery that was the night before, about 200. of Baldez souldiers, were ppetely well cooled.

There were also certeine Barkes taken, laden with Baldez wine, victualles, and baggage, which were deliuered to the Admirall. But here is a thing greatly to be considered of, that notwithstanding that the Lord God, what by reason of his great ouerflowing of the waters, as also because of the good counsell which he inspired into them, had mightely assisted the Drengers, wherby they might vse the fittest meanes for this purpose, yet had all this beene euen as good as nothing, seeing that the great numbers of the Enemy, and their forces, seemed to be inuincible, if so be that he had not mightily feared and astonished the. For euen at that very instant, such a great feare came vppon the that laye at Leyerchope and Lammien, as that they trembled withal, to see their companiōs thus flye: and although the church and houses of Soeterwood, were all on a light fier, yet they which lay at Lammien, thought it best, not once to stirre one step from thence.

But to retorne nowe againe to the Leydens, it hath heretofore beene sayde, That the Messengers whiche came fro Leyden to the Princes Maie, brought Doues with them, one of which was sent backe againe, who saythfully carryed ouer her Letters: and beside, the Leydens looked for none other newes nor aduertisements, but when they should issue out of the Town, to set vpon the fort and trench of Lammien: which thing was written vnto them the first of October, howbeit, the flying poste did not her duertie, but was the first, that came the next daye to

*See Spemyard
vndoe ffinantio
not found*

A notable historie of the ciuill

the town, so that the citizens gaue not the signe, which they were appoynted to doe, and therefore Admirall Boplot, who first arrived at the wyues bridge, thought the Towne had beene peered by, because the Citizens were so still. Howbeit, when the Citizens sawe the fier at Soeterwood, but especially the Church, to be on a light fier, knowing right well that the Spaniards laye there, and were rounde about well fortified in their trenches, they all merueilous ioyfully leaped vpon the Rampars, notwithstanding the Enemies being well fortified in Lammens fort, the Cannon playing brauely from the trench against the Drenegers Army: and besides, their seeing in the afternoone 300. soldiers at Cronstone, decayed house: Wherefore they caried their Ensignes to the Rampars, and tyed them to the Wynde mylles sayles, in token that they were of good courage, and merry. And afterward, caused these foure popntes of the great penaltie to be proclaymed.

First, that no women, yong children, nor people vnmeet to beare armes, should come to the Rampars: and that as many as did beare armes, must be with their accustomed armour & weapon, in his quarter, and place appoynted.

That they which had watche the night before, should bee the next time at the body of their ward.

That none of them should depart from the Rampars, vntill the Magistrate called for them.

That all Boates and Barkes, should departe out of the mayne Channelles and streames, into the side ditches or creeks, to the ende that the shippes which were to come into the town, should no way be stopped, but haue free passage: that the Citizens might helpe them, whether it were in the deepe, on the side, or in the comming out, according as they sawe it needefull and necessary.

Then the Burroughmaisters, shewed the shippes to their Citizens, saying: Beholde louing fellowe Citizens, here behinde this forte, is now, bread, what thinke you of it, shall we let it alone there? Then cryed the Citizens with one voyce, nay, but let vs rather pull downe the gate with our nayles, then suffer it to be stayed before Lammens.

Now,

*for spreading
forward of the
Leydens*

Nowe, when the Admirall had for two causes, made the great Artillary to be brought through Soeterwood to Papenmeere: First for that, from thence Lammen fort was farre nearer on the left side: Secondly, because the shippes with victuals, might annoy one the other at Peerbrough: and so cause great incomburaunce, if so be the Enemy, (as hath beene aforesayde) were not discomfited.

The Spanyarden merueilously played with their great ordenaunce agaynst the Drenegers army, both from Lammen fort, and also from James Wyckholts forte at Medde: so that they slew with one Cannon shotte seauen of the Admiralls men at a blowe, making thereby, the worlde beleue that they were fully determined to keepe the sayde fortes. But because this Trench of Lammen was the chiefest, which the Princes people most feared, by reason it stode on the hyer grounde, I haue thought good to make some small discription of the scituatiō thereof.

The scituatiō
of Lammen fort

This place standeth in a playne fielde, hauing no hye ground nor hilles about it, and all the Channelles and streames were quite and cleane dammed by, about a quarter of a myle from the Towne. And the streame which runneth towardes Delft, is like the bowte of a mans arme, and on the one side thereof runneth a Channell from it as farre as the Rhine, and on the other side, an other Channell running towardes Soeterwood: the rest of this place with ditching and ramparing, might easily haue beene made sure & strong, by reason of the store of trees growing round about it.

The Rampare of this Trench was reasonably thicke, but yet not able to hould out the Cannon shot: It was also well furnished with great ordenaunce, souldiers, & with what soeuer els necessary for a Trench, so that (in any mans reason) if the Spanyarden had wel kept this one onely Trench, & Drenegers Armye had neuer beene able to haue passed, without the great losse of men. And yet notwithstanding, the strength hereof, the Admirall certeinlye determined, to sette vpon it: Wherefore on the seconde of October, about the Euening, hee sente Captayne Grenu, Alleliers, and Captayne Harry,

The Admirall
determineth to
batter Lamme
fort.

A notable historie of the ciuill

to see where he might, to the most aduantage plant his Ordnance, where they found, that they might plante two dempe Cannons at the corner of a channel, but not without great paine and perrill.

This night, the Admirall wrote to his Excellency, of all this situation aforesayd, and withall, how he meant the next morrow to batter it. But if so be the thing fel not out as he looked for, he would be contented, vntill such time as the water should waxe deepe, that it might be nauigable on the one side ouer their land. And although his Excellency, had committed the whole dealing hereof into the handes of God, yet these newes, pleased him no whit, but greatly doubted of the deliuerance of Leyden, as well because of the reasons aforesaid, as also for that he feared, there could be no sufficient breach made, to giue the assault, considering with all the fewnesse of his men. Howbeit the Lord of hostes would alone prouide for all these difficulties, and small hope, and giue the honour to his most mightie Arme, to the ende, men might vnderstand, that although they knew many practises, for the vanquishing of the Enemy, yet, that all should be in vaine, & to no purpose, without he put to his helping hand, and the victorie, to come from him alone.

For, after that the two Admiralles, the third of October had very early in the morning layed open the channelles, which were mercuriously choked vp with great stakes and pyles, for the planting (as before hath been said, of their artillary, and battering of Lammien fort, they perceiued that the Lord God had preuented them, and would not haue the Enemy driuen awaye by the force of men. For he had driuen such a feare into y^e hearts of the Enemy, as that they made a shamefull flight, casting their Artillary into the ditches and channelles: Insomuch, that this night, they forsooke the strong trench of Lammien. Howbeit there was neuer a man, eyther without, or yet within the Town that once vnderstood of this flight and retrance: although in very deepe, a great noyse was heard in the night, as they soonke a great peece of Ordnance, in the channell right before the said fort: Neuerthelesse, there was a young stripling, who watching that night on the Rampare, saw many light matches goe out of the Foote, and none returne againe: And therfore he presumed,

*For Pr. Dordrecht of
the morning of Ley
den.*

*The Span-
ardes forlake
Lammien.*

as inderbe it was true, that the Spaniardes had forsaken the forte of Lammen, which thing he opened, and craued leave, to goe thither: Nowe, this his request, was easily graunted him, with promise of sixe Flozins, to save, if the Enempe were there, that hee ranne out of the Towne for verpe hunger.

A young stry-
ling discovereth
to the magi-
strate that Lam-
men forte was
forsaken.

When hee was come to the forte, and found neuer a man there he wayued with his cappe, but yet for all this the Townsmen beleueed him not because they doubted, that the Spaniard by some sleight had so commaunded him: Neuerthelesse, when they sawe, that an other which followed him passed before the forte towards the Admyrall, wading by to the knees, to salute him, great ioy and myrth was made on euery side. And thereupon the valyaunt Captayne Gerard Lane, tooke his way with his Aduenturers towards Lammen forte, vntyl he came to the first place that was strengthened with pylles, where he receiued with great ioye the Admyralles two first Gallies. For the Admyrall being a man of iudgement, and not light of beeliefe, hadde sente these two Gallies before, which founde all to be true, that was tolde him: to wytte, that they had left the forte, and soonke two great peeces of Ordnance in the Channell.

After that the passages were layde open, and cleared of the pylles, the Admyrall Lewys Boplot, ioyfully praysing God, made out the Vauntgarde towards Leyden, where hee quietely entred at eyght of the clocke in the morning.

The Admirall
Boplot entred
Leyden.

And Adryan Gupllanne the Admyral of ziericksea ledde the Reretwarde. But it was a lamentable thing to see, the miserable starued people deuoure the rawe Herringes, which the Admyrall at his entrie, cast vnto the people: and likewise the breade, whereof, some of them eate so greedely, as if they shoulde neuer haue beene filled: Whereupon, many of them which so fed, surfeited, and by litle and litle, great numbers died thereof.

On the other side of the Towne, towards Harlem Heere, were three Gallies of Amsterdam, who nowe and then saluted the Towne with the Cannon: But when they percepued the ayde, and with all the Artyllarpe of the Towne, they were

so

A notable historie of the ciuill

to heartily afear, as that they pacte awaye with all their whole company.

from 6 to 809

When the Admirals were in the Towne, they with theyr retynue, and Citizens, went to the Church, to thanke God with all their heartes, for his laying vnder the water, the fieldes, and dyke lande, and conducting of them to the desired place, and porte.

Baldes his people, who the day before forooke their fortes, had fiered Doeterwood but chiefly Meypotte, and being stricken with feare, forooke also the third of October, their Cabyns, without burning of them, but especially the forte of Leperthorp, and all thereabout. For although they were about thre, to one Wynger, who, when they were altogether, were not both of soldiers, maryners, and others which bare Armes, besides those whiche had the leading of the vittualles, about two thousande five hundred, whereas Baldey men, after their own reckoning, were, betwixt eleuen and niene thousand at least, as also may perpe well appeare by their Letters about mentioned: But the Almighty God, as before hath beene sayde, for the deliuerace of his people, strooke them with a merueilous great terror, as he in olde time stroke Senacherib, for the deliuerpe of his people Israel. And I thinke, that if the Hispaniolized Leydens, woulde confesse the trueth (as some of them haue already done at Leperthorpe) they woulde testifie that feare was the cause. For the Wyngers are not ashamed, for their partes to confesse, that if their hope and confidence had not been in an inuisible ayde, and that they before hand sawe, that thing, which now they see, to wit, the Towne being on euery side encompassed, with so manye Trenches and Bulwarkes, as that it was unlikely that they euer once durst haue attempted, to reuictuall and succour the Towne with so fewe people. But the Lorde God woulde needes shewe his mightie hand, and stretched out arme, to the end that all glozy might be giuen to his heauenly wisdome and goodnesse.

The number of the Wyngers soldiers & maryners, is not in al about 1500. men.

*for Spaniards
between 9 and
11, from 1000 to 1200
stricken wth feare
fled*

And wee are not here to forget a very great and merueilous accident, to wit, that the selfe same night, wherein the Spanyarde forooke the Forte of Lammien, there fell downe a pane of the wall, and bauntmure of the Towne, betweene the

*A storme falling
of Leyden walle*

Cow

Cowgate and Bourgoine Tower, five and twenty Poles longe, so that there was a breach made without any batterye. If the Enemy had had this aduantage before, to wit, two or three nightes before, when as they thought, in the night, by scale, to haue surpris'd the Town at Hodgewoert Gate, which they scaled, and thought to haue wonne, because a sonde younge Wench had giuen them to vnderstande, that the watch was very small: Notbeit, they founde it otherwise. For, before such time as three Harquebouses were discharged, they all repayed: No doubt of it, they might haue thought the same, to bee as woonderfull a thing, as the Citizens now make of this, hurte and feare onely excepted, because that they breach was made without batterye: But it pleased the Lord G D to deale otherwise with the Citizens: for they, in steede of takinge of harme, receiued benefite. For, the great noyse was it, that encreased the feare of the Enemy, by reason they thought, that the Citizens had sallied out of the Towne, to charge them in the face, and the Drengers on the backe, and therefore had the Townsmen so much the more cause to prayse the Lord.

When the Admirall was come to Leyden, he forthwith wrote to his Excellencie lying at Delft, how that God had striken the Enemy with such an horrible feare, as that they hadde forsaken the fort of Lammern, which was the cause of his entrey into the Towne.

This Letter was carped to his Excellency the 3. of December, and deliuered vnto him at two of the clock in the afternoon, being at the Sermon, which without all doubt, were other manner of newes then that came in the morning: Wherefore, so soone as the French Sermons were finished, he caused the minister, openly to reade the Letter, most thankfully and ioyfully praying the Lord. The like also was done at the 2. great churches, so that these newes were ioyfully spred all ouer, in a verie great Company and Congregation of the people, and in his excellencies presence. The same also was done in the rest of the Towns of Holland, with bonfires, and such like tokens of ioye.

After that the Admirals had thus victualled the Towne of Leyden, thanked and praysed the lord of his grace, encouraged &

Citi

A notable historie of the ciuill

Citizens, and filled them with meate, they pursued the blo-
 tope, and fell vppon the Enemye that laye entrenched about
 Leperthorpe.

The Trenches at Leperthorpe was wonderfull stronge, and
 they which lay there greatly bragged, and tolde the messengers
 which came thither, of their merueilous force, which tended,
 as it nowe fell out, to their greater shame, and the Lordes far
 greater honour; and more villanously forsooke the Fortes and
 Trenches of Hape, and the Oldwating, where they had remain-
 ned a full yeare and a daye. For a very small number of the
 Princes Hauntcurriers, which, as it is sayde was not aboue a
 dosen, put two of the Enemies Ensignes to flight: some of
 which fled with such speede, as that they ceased not running vn-
 till they came to the gates of Amsterdam, saying, in their own
 excuse, that all the whole Campe was discomfited and put to
 flight. At the same time likewise, did Baldez his people forsake,
 not onely Gaude seluse Trenches, but also all the rest, to the
 number of two and twentie, saue Madding alone, where remai-
 ned certeine souldiers for the freeing of the passage. Nowe,
 in this voyage and expedition, there were no moe of the Prin-
 ces parte slaine, then fortie, but of the Enemies, by the
 own confellio, aboue a thousand. *Howbeit, here is one thing not*
to be forgotten, which the sayde Baldez lefte in his Lodginge,
 to wit, the Towne of Leyden pyctured, with all her royall
 wayes, paches, and Channelles of water, and all in such ma-
 ner as they were guarded, and defended with forces. And when
 he was enforced to rayse his Campe, he wrote vnder this Pye-
 ture: Vale Ciuitas, valete Castelliparui, Quia relictis estis
 propter aquam, & non per vim Inimicorum. That is to saye,
 Farewell Leyden, and all the small Castelles about thee, for
 the Waters haue dyuen vs out of you, and not the force of the
 Enemy.

I confesse in deede, that the waters were one of the princi-
 pall meanes to cause Baldez leaue the Town and Trenches:
 But if he woulde haue spoken truely, he should haue sayde: It
 is the myghtye and strong arme of the Lorde which hath enfor-
 ced me to leaue you, who hath put me in such a terryble feare,
 as that Antiochus, neuer fledd out of Persia with greater
 disho-

12. part 2. Ensig-
 nes. of Spaine
 on down to page 16

nota

A few Latin
 words written
 by Baldez.

dishonour, neither Timothe towards Gazara, nor yet Lysias frō the Machabees, then I and my people, O Leyden, haue bin diuē to leaue thee and all my fortres.

When his Excellency had heard of the foresaide newes, he ^{his Excellency} went the next day to Leyden, giuing the citizens great thanks, ^{goeth to Leydē.} both for their fidelity, and also for their so valiantly defending of themselves without souldiers, against so populous an enemy, and therefore told them, that both they and their children should be well rewarded for their great trauell. And after ward, he set an order in euery thing, as wel about y^e affaires of the Towne, as of the warres, to the end he might make his profit of the victory, which the Lord had giuen him.

Howbeit for the greater manifestation of the wonderful works of S D D, I haue one thing more heere to speake of whiche ^{the weather was} is not to be passed ouer in silence, and that is this, that the foure ^{thoroughly} of October the winde being then at the Southeast, & the next 3. or 4. daies following, so lustely blowing by at the Northeast, as that no mā without great danger, was able to passe frō Delft to Leyden, because the water as fast as was possible left y^e fields, and returned againe to Sea.

ouer and besides the victuals aforesaid, which were brought to Leyden, his Excellency, and his counsel thought it good, that all the rest of the Townes round there about, should ayde and assist the poore famished Leydens, to the ende that the miserable soules who had so long time got nothing, but consumed al their moueable goodes might be holpen, and so the rich mens victuals thereby last the longer.

For which cause, the deputies of Delft, went all Delft through with their Waggones and Boates, gathering amongst the Citizens, great store of Bread, Butter, Flesh, Cheese, Lard, Fish, and money, to the value of a 1000. Florins and better. Which did not onely mightely helpe the poore, but also so eased the rich as that the Towne was therby likewise reuictualled, which increased not only a farre greater amity, betweene the Townes, but confirmed also their alliance, a great deale the more.

And although al the world knoweth, y^e not only this warre of Leyden, but also of the whole low countries, was taken in hand,

S

partly

partely for the defence of the libertie of cho Countrey, yet shall it better appeare by certeine peeces of Artillary, which the Enemies of the libertie of it, had caused to be made, to the better abolishing of the whole libertie thereof, as by the manner of it euen very now, we shall vnderstande. For, the Leydens being thus distressed about the libertie of the same, and in the ende deliuered, founde the verpe samadape of their libertie and deliuerance, a very great peece of Ordnance, named the Libertie, which the Spaniards had tooke in the midst of the Channell. The Lord therfore graunt them, that they may with all preserue the libertie of their Countrey, and vse it to his glory.

The 8. of October, his Excellency departed from Leyden towards Hape, where he tooke order, if it were possible, for the conseruation and holding of the place, as the onely key of Harlem Meere.

The 9. day his Excellency went to Gaude seluse, about the ordering of all thinges necessary there, where was a very strong Trench: But by reason of the dangerous disease which his heighnesse had at Roterodam, the Spaniards presumed, that the warre was made in his name being dead: and therfore two Spaniards were sent to Leyden with Passepozt from Iulpan Romero, to see if he were aliue: and if they found him so, that they should talke with his Excellency about the deliury of M. S. Aldegonde, in exchaung of Colonnell Mondragon, whereupon they agreed: and when his Excellency had dispatched their Passepozt and Letters, hee within two houres after, sent them away. And after that his Excellency, for the causes abouesayde sufficiently set down, had chaunged the great counsel of Leyden, the 14. of that month, hee tooke his way to Gaude the 15. where M. S. Aldegond hauing remayned prisoner about a yeares space, returned franke and free, and was with ioy receiued of many good people.

A litle while after, that the sayde Baldez was come to Harlem, he dayly lamented and bewayled his great misshap: For there beganne a great vproze amongst his souldiers, and they mortally hated him, and gaue it openly out, that he had deales for

Julian Romero

*S. Aldegonde
exchanged for
Mondragon*

*M. S. Aldegond
deliuered out
of prison.*

for the Leydens; and receiued of the two barrells of gold for the saving of the Towne: Insomuch that this brute, together the Arrerages of their paye, for many monethes, gaue them such occasion, so to disdayne, and mislike him, as that they tooke him prisoner, and after they had platted one Eletto in his rowne, to be their gouernour, they caused him, write Letters to the great Commaundator of Castill, to send them their pay with in tenne dayes, or els they would seeke some other place of seruice, and get money where it was to be had.

Baldeo his soldiers mutyne.

When the tenne dayes were expyred, which was aboute a moneth after the deliuerance of Leyden, they forsakinge the fortre of Hatland, Leperdam, Foxescote, Falkenbrough, and other places, assembled themselves on foote and horseback, betwixt sixe and seauen thousand men, both of Spaniards, Almaynes, and Mallons, and leauing the whole Countrey of Southhollande, tooke the way to Harlem, and Amsterdam: but when they found the Gates shutte vpon them, they marched towardes Utright, where they hoped to be payed: so that the Countrey of Hollande, for that tyme, through the great goodnesse of G O D, was quite and cleane rid of those Enemies.

Baldeo soldiers marched to Utright.

When the Spaniards and their Companie were arryued the eighte of December before Utright, the Lorde of Hierges, Floion, and Baldez proclaymed them his Hailesties Enemies, by which meane, it was lawefull for the Citizens to kill as many of them as they could catch: for persourning wherof, a litle entreatie would haue serued: wherfore the Spaniards hadde brought that day with them, pytch, strawe, and goonpowder, to set Weerd Gate on fier: But the Citizens valyantlye salping out of the Towne, so brauely repulles them, as that they slewe about fiftye Spaniards. But not being contented herewith, they, the 17. of the sayd moneth, about the day breake, issued out of the ditches, with their Eletto John Bianco, to scale Sainte Katherines Gate, & some of them hauing entred before day, slew certein of the watch: howbeit the said John Bianco hauing sworn he would enter Utright, either alive or dead, after he had a good while valiantly

A notable hystorie of the ciuill

John Bianco,
the mutynous
Spaniards C.
letto slaine.

andely defended him selfe against the mightie multitude of the Citizens, he was there by mayne force of Armes, slaine, and all his companie beaten backe, and dpyuen from the Rampars. For the Cytizens were so flesht on them, and therby so emboldened against them, and they of the Castle, so holpe the Spaniards, by the annoyng of the Citizens with their great Wydenance, as that there were but 200, Spaniards laid on Gods deare earth.

Nowe after that the Leydens had first thanked God, and next his Excellency, as befoze hath beene sayde, they thanked also the Admirall Boyssot, and presented him with a chayne of golde, hauing hanging at it a great picture of gold. The Estates also of Hollande, gaue vnto the sayde Admirall a Chaine of golde moorth fye hundred. Florins. When the great Commandator of Castille saue, that Leyden was ayden against the opinion of all the worlde, and that his people were merueilously discontented, hee sente his Deputies in December 1574. vnto his Excellency, and to the Estates of Holland and Zeland, about the Communication of a peace, which was graunted him, and the Assembly appoynted to be at Breda.

When the Emperour heard of this, hee sent in Februarys 1575. the Count of Swartsenbrough to the sayde treatie of peace, where the sayde Count, as a mediatour, sought by all meanes possyble to conclude it on eyther side.

The Treaty of
peace at Breda
broken of 1575

But whyles the sayde Prince and Estates of Hollande and Zelande stode styll for the keeping of the exercise of the reformed Relygion, and that the sayde Commandator would not agree thereto, this Conference and assemblie booke of, and did nothing.

Buren besieged
and rendred.

The Spaniards besieging the Towne and Castle of Buren, was by the Gouvernour of the said Towne, without any battery, yeelded by: wherefoze the Estates of Holland would haue put him to deach: howbeit the Prince for al that, sent him to the Castle of Gaude, there to be safe kept.

The marriage of
the Prince.

not D. Montpen
siers. Son of the

The 11. of June his Excellency married at the Biell, the most famous Princesse, Charlotte of Bourbon, Duke Montpenier his daughter, the very true myrrour of all vertue.

As

As the Spaniards were besieging the Towne of Oldwa- ^{Oldwa- ter} ter, the eight of August 1575. his Excellencie arrived at Gaud, ^{prised by al-} and caused the Dykes to be gauged, that the fieldes might bee ^{saunt.} laide vnder the water, for the rasping of the Spaniards campe. Which when the enemye understood, furiously battered the town with 5 Canon, made a breach, and forthwith gaue the assault, so that at the thirde attempt the towne was taken, and at their entrie, they slue all the Citizens and souldiers, and burnt the greater parte thereof.

The 12. of the saide moneth, as the enemye vpon the soden Schoonhoue encamped before the Towne of Schoonhoue, his Excellencie rendered. sent thither the Captaine of the garde a french Colonel, a man very well experimented, as well in warre like Affayres as in matters of state, who had very faithfully doone to the said prince and Estates of Holland and Zeeland many good offices and seruices.

And although that this Towne was no way able to holde out, both by reason of the weaker rampares, as also because of the faint hearts of many of the Citizens, yet this Colonel so nobly saued his honour, as that hee attended all the day long for the assault, where a breach through the force of 23. Canons, was made 300. paces broade.

But the next morrow, although hee wanted able men for defence, yet hee in such sort repaired the Rampares & breach, as that hee made an honorable peace, sauing his people both with bag and baggage.

The great commendatoz being assisted by the treason of certaine Hollanders, passed, contrary to the opinion of the whole world, at a low water marke, through the Isles of Saint Anne, Philippestant, and Duuelant, the 28. of September, the yere aforesaid, where gouernour Boyssot was slaine. After that, hee tooke by assault and force, the fort of Bommenem, but not without the great losse of his Spaniards, and then encamped, before the Towne of Ziericksea.

The enterprise of the comma-
toz vpon the
countrey of
Scontwenna.

The eleuenth of Februarie 1576. the Prince wanne Crympen fort, which greatly anayled him, for by it, he preserved & kept Swyndright, and all the rest of the places nere aboute Rotordame and Dordright.

A notable hystorie of the ciuill

The death of
the commanda-
tor. of the
place.

During these exploits, the Commandator died at Bruxelles the
fift of March of the Plague, wherefore the gouernment of the
countrie was committed by his Maiesties appointment, to the
handes of the councell of Estate.

Ziericksea ren-
dered.

In May the peere aforesaid, Ziericksea was by reason of fa-
mine rendred to the Spaniards, although all the Hollanders &
Zealanders, had done what they could to helpe and reuictuall it,
but all was in vaine. The Spaniards at that time beginning a-
gaine to mutine for their pay, thought to haue surprised Brus-
sels, for they presumed to haue good store of butin there. How-
be it when the Citizens hearde of it, they so well looked about
them, as that master Spaniard went without his purpose: wher-
fore, they tooke the way to Alost, where they entered without any
resistance, in the end of Iuly, dealing with the Citizens, as if
the Towne had been taken by assault, sacking and iniuring the,
as if they had been their enemies.

The Puttnous
Spaniards enter
the towne of
Alost.

The Spaniards
proclaimed re-
bels.

The Estates of Brabant considering of the outrages, info-
lences, and rebellion of the Spanish souldiers, complained of the
to the councell of Estate: but where they thought they shoulde
haue been punished, the councell bare most with them, although
for the further abusing of the said Estates, they were by the saide
councell proclaimed rebels against his maiestie and the lowe
countries, without setting any other order in the matter, which
caused a generall reuolt of all the low countries, & an vnion of
Holland and Zealand, with the rest of the prouinces, as more at
large shalbe set forth in the fourth booke of these histories.

The ende of the third booke.

